READINGS · IN EUROPEAN · HISTORY

VOLUME I

JAMES · HARVEY · ROBINSON

READINGS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

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READINGS IN

EUROPEAN HISTORY

A collection of extracts from the sources chosen with the purpose of illustrating the progress of culture in Western Europe since the German Invasions

BY

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

14890

VOLUME I

FROM THE BREAKING UP OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE PROTESTANT REVOLT

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To E. P. C. and D. C. M.

ONCE MY COLLEAGUES AND EVER MY STAUNCH FRIENDS
AND FAITHFUL FELLOW-WORKERS, THIS VOL-
UME IS FITTINGLY DEDICATED

PREFACE

In preparing my *Introduction to the History of Western Europe* I was forced to forego all the amenities of historical narration, except those of clearness and order, in my anxiety to present a tolerably coherent sketch of the course of events and the development of institutions. In this and the succeeding volume I hope that the reader, whether teacher or student, may find some of that life and reality without which historical study must remain arid and well-nigh profitless. I have accordingly made a special effort to select such passages as might most readily conciliate the reader's interest. Yet they are not the less useful for being interesting. Indeed, I hope that they may prove to be like that river of which Gregory the Great speaks, which is both shallow and deep, "wherein the lamb may find a footing and the elephant float at large"; for there are few among the excerpts that will not repay careful study and give the teacher abundant opportunity to test his own and his students' insight.

The rather long and elaborate bibliographies which follow the several chapters demand a word of explanation. They each fall into three divisions. The first section, *A*, contains specific references to a collection of forty or fifty standard volumes which should be in any good high-school library. *B*, *Additional readings in English*, is especially designed for those who have a good college library at their disposal, although many of the volumes mentioned in this division

might profitably be used by the high-school student. Lastly, under *C*, the teacher and advanced university student will find the necessary guidance in carrying on his work as far as he may feel inclined.

In the preparation of the present volume I am under special obligations to Miss Ellen Scott Davison, who greatly aided me in the quest for suitable material and in the translation, and to Miss Louise Ropes Loomis, Lecturer in Barnard College, who prepared portions of the bibliographies and also forwarded the translation. With the kind permission of my friends, Professors Cheyney and Munro, I have used some of the extracts which have already appeared in the *Translations and Reprints*, of which we three were the original editors. I have also included some of the pieces in Dr. Henderson's very useful *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, but I have frequently preferred a different rendering from his. I am also indebted to the translations in the Bohn series, although here, too, I have freely modified the wording in the interests of accuracy and clearness. I owe most of all, perhaps, to the admirable *Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit* in clearing up the occasional obscurities of the mediæval chroniclers. My indebtedness to a considerable number of translators and editors is acknowledged in the list of citations which follows.

J. H. R.

High Mowing, Jaffrey, N.H.,
September 1, 1904.

CONTENTS AND LIST OF CITATIONS

VOLUME I

CHAPTER I — THE HISTORICAL POINT OF VIEW

CHAPTER II — WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS

PAGE

I. Resemblances between Paganism and Christianity

1. Seneca on God's gifts to man 14

De beneficiis, Lib. iv, cc. 5–7, and Lib. i, c. 2; ed. Hosius (Teubner, 1900); trans.[1] by Th. Lodge in the Temple Classics Series

2. Epictetus 15

Dissertationes (or *Enchiridion*), Book I, Chaps. 30 and 9; trans. from the Greek of Arrian by G. Long in the Bohn Library

3. The *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius 17

Book II, Chaps. 1–3; trans. from the Greek by G. Long in the Bohn Library

4. Important contrasts between Christianity and paganism 18

Lecky, *History of European Morals*, opening of Chap. IV

II. The Early Conception of a Universal Church

5. The Catholic Church as conceived by Cyprian . . . 19

De catholicae ecclesiae unitate, cc. 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, and 14: Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, III; trans. by R. E. Wallis in Library of Ante-Nicene Fathers, VIII

III. The Church and the Roman Emperors

6. Edict of Galerius (A.D. 311), which first granted toleration to the Christians 21

Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, c. 34: Corpus script. eccl. Lat. XXVII, Fas. ii; trans. by William Fletcher in the Library of Ante-Nicene Fathers, XXII

[1] While I have freely availed myself of the assistance offered by translations, I have not hesitated to modify, or even frankly desert in some cases, the renderings which I mention in this list.

PAGE

7. The edicts of Constantine and his successors relating to the Church in the Theodosian Code 23

Codex Theodosianus, ed. Haenel, Lib. xvi: tit. i, 2 (A.D. 380); tit. ii, 2 (A.D. 319), 6 (A.D. 326), 9 (A.D. 349), 24 (A.D. 377), 16 (A.D. 361), 5 (A.D. 323), 4 (A.D. 321), 41 (A.D. 412); tit. v, 1 (A.D. 326), 3 (A.D. 372), 34 (A.D. 398), 66 (A.D. 435), 46 (A.D. 409)

IV. Comparison between the Lot of those within the Empire and those living among the Barbarians

8. Salvian's comparison of the Romans and barbarians . 28

De gubernatione Dei, Lib. v, cc. 4 *sq.*, Lib. iv, c. 14: Mon. Ger. Hist., Auc. ant. I

9. Conversation of Priscus with a Greek living among the barbarians (448) 30

PRISCUS PANITES, *Historiarum fragmenta*, in Müller, Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum, IV, 86 *sq.*; trans. by Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, I, 218 *sqq.*

CHAPTER III — THE GERMAN INVASIONS AND THE BREAK-UP OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

I. The Huns force the West Goths across the Danube

10. Description of the Huns by Ammianus Marcellinus . . 35

Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt, Lib. xxxi, cc. 2–4 and 13; ed. Gardthausen (Teubner, 1874); trans. by C. D. Yonge in the Bohn Library

II. How the West Goths became Arians and Alaric took Rome

11. Jordanes on the conversion of the Goths and the sack of Rome 39

JORDANES, *De origine actusque Getarum*, cc. 25–31; ed. Mommsen, Mon. Ger. Hist., Auc. ant. V

12. St. Jerome on the destruction wrought by the barbarians 44

(a) *Ep. ad Ageruchiam*: Migne, Patrologia Latina, XXII, cols. 1057 *sq.*; (b) *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, Preface to Lib. iii; Ibid. XXV, col. 79

13. Dill on the reports of the sack of Rome 45

Roman Society in the Last Century of the Roman Empire, 309 *sq.*

III. Attila and the Huns

14. Priscus' description of the court of Attila 46

MÜLLER, Frag. hist. Graec. (as above, No. 9), IV, 85 and 91 *sq.*; Bury, I, 217 *sqq.*

IV. How Pope Leo saved Rome from Attila

PAGE

15. Prosper's account of the meeting of Leo and Attila . . 49
PROSPER TIRO, *Epitoma chronicon*, ad an. 450: Mon. Ger. Hist., Auc. ant. IX

16. Later account of Leo's intervention 50
Vita S. Leonis Papae, Lib. i, c. 2; Acta sanctorum, April, II, 18

V. Clovis and the Franks

17. Gregory of Tours and his history of the Franks . . . 51
Historiae ecclesiasticae Francorum libri X, Lib. ii, cc. 27, 29–31: Mon. Ger. Hist., SS. rer. Mer., I

CHAPTER IV — THE RISE OF THE PAPACY

I. The Bishop of Rome and the Headship of the Church

18. Irenæus' catalogue of the bishops of Rome. 63
Contra haereses, Lib. iii, c. 3, §§ 2–3: Migne, Pat. Graec. VII, cols. 848 *sqq.*; trans. in Library of Ante-Nicene Fathers, V

19. Tertullian on the distinction of the Roman Church . . 64
(a) *De praescriptione haereticorum*, c. 36: Migne, Pat. Lat. II, cols. 9 *sqq.*; trans. in Library of Ante-Nicene Fathers, XV. (b) *De Pudicitia*, c. 21: Corpus script. eccl. Lat. XX; trans. in Library of Ante-Nicene Fathers, XVIII

20. Cyprian on the danger of appeals to Rome 66
Ad Cornelium; (Ep. 54 or, in some editions, 59): Corpus script. eccl. Lat. III; trans. in Library of Ante-Nicene Fathers, VIII

21. Sixth canon of Nicæa 66
Mansi, Conciliorum collectio, II, 669 *sqq.*

22. Decretal of Siricius 68
c. xv, § 20: Mansi, III, 661, or Migne, Pat. Lat. LVI, col. 554

23. St. Jerome on the equality of the bishops 69
Ad Evangelum (Ep. 146): Migne, XXII, col. 1194

24. Sermon by Leo the Great on Peter's headship. . . . 69
(a) *Sermones*, IV: Migne, LIV, cols. 148 *sqq.* (b) *Ad Anastasium episcopum Thessalonicensem* (Ep. 14): Migne, LIV, col. 676

25. Edict of Valentinian recognizing the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. 72
Novellae Cod. Theod. II, Lib. iii, tit. xvi

26. Pope Gelasius on the superiority of the spiritual power 72
Ad Anastasium imperatorem, c. 2: Migne, LVI, col. 633.

II. Gregory the Great and his Times

PAGE

27. Milman's appreciation of Gregory the Great 73
History of Latin Christianity, Book III, Chap. 7

28. Conditions depicted in Gregory's letters 74
(a) *Ad Leandrum episcopum Hispalensem* (Ep. Lib. i., 43); Migne, LXXVII, cols. 496 *sq.* (b) *Homiliae in Evangelia*, Lib. i, Homilia i; Migne, LXXVI, col. 1078.

29. How a monk dared to have gold in his possession . . 76
GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dialogorum libri IV, de vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum*, Lib. iv, c. 55: Migne, LXXVII, cols. 420 *sq.*

30. Extracts from Gregory the Great's *Moralia* 77
Moralium libri sive expositio in librum B. Job. (a) "Epistola Missoria," cc. 4 *sq.*: Migne, LXXV, cols. 514 *sqq.* (b) Lib. i, c. 16: Migne, LXXV, cols. 537 *sq.*; translated (very freely) in Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, 3 vols., Oxford, 1844 *sq.*

31. Extracts from Gregory's *Pastoral Charge* 80
Regulae pastoralis liber, Pars ii, cc. 8 *sq.*, and Pars iii, "Prologue": Migne, LXXVII. Good translation by Rev. H. R. Bramley, with Latin original on opposite pages, Oxford and London, 1874.

CHAPTER V — THE MONKS AND THE CONVERSION OF THE GERMANS

I. The Monastic Attitude of Mind

32. St. Jerome's plea for a life of solitude 86
Ad Heliodorum monachum, cc. 2 *sq.* (Ep. 14): Migne, XXII, cols. 548 *sq.*

33. Ideals of monasticism described by a Spanish monk . 87
Saint Jean de la Croix, Vie et Œuvres, 1893, II, 94, cited by William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 304 *sq.*

34. A modern psychologist's analysis of asceticism . . . 88
JAMES, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 298 *sq.* and 296 *sq.*

II. The Devil and his Wicked Angels

35. The Pagan gods, devils in disguise 90
GREGORY THE GREAT'S *Dialogues* (as above, No. 29), Lib. iii, c. 7: Migne, LXXVII, cols. 229 *sqq.*

36. St. Gall and the demons 90
WETTINUS, *Vita Galli confessoris*, cc. 7 *sq.*: Mon. Ger. Hist., SS. rer. Mer. IV.

37. Martin, a hermit, withstands the terrors of the devil . 92
GREGORY THE GREAT'S *Dialogues* (as above, No. 29), Lib. iii, c. 16: Migne, LXXVII, col. 257

III. Purgatory, Hell, and Heaven

PAGE

38. Description of purgatory, hell, and heaven 93
BEDA, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, Lib. v, c. 12; trans. by Giles' *Beda, Complete Works in the original Latin with a new translation of the historical works*, 1843–1844

IV. The Conversion of England, as described by Bede

39. Arrival in Kent of the missionaries sent by Gregory the Great 97
Bede (as above, No. 38), Lib. i, cc. 23 and 25

40. Instructions of Gregory the Great for the missionaries in England 100
Ibid. Lib. i, c. 30

41. The conversion of Northumbria 101
Ibid. Lib. ii, c. 13

42. Controversy between the Roman and Irish missionaries over the date of Easter 103
Ibid. Lib. iii, c. 25

V. Boniface and the Conversion of Germany

43. Boniface's commission from the pope 105
S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae: Mon. Ger. Hist., Epist. III, 258; also in Jaffé, Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum, III, 62

44. Gregory II appoints Boniface presiding bishop in Germany 105
Ibid. Mon. Ger. Hist., 292; Jaffé, III, 103

45. Oath taken by Boniface to the pope 106
Ibid. Mon. Ger. Hist., 265; Jaffé, 76 *sq.*

46. How Boniface destroyed the oak of Thor 106
WILLIBALD, *Vita Sancti Bonifatii*, c. 6: Jaffé, Bib. rer. Ger. III, 452

47. How the monastery of Fulda was founded 107
Vita Sancti Sturmis abbatis, cc. 4–14: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, II, 367 *sqq.*

CHAPTER VI — CHARLES MARTEL AND PIPPIN

I. The Koran

48. Passages from the Koran 116
Cc. 1, 2, 78, and 56; trans. by STANLEY LANE-POOLE, *The Speeches and Table Talk of the Prophet Mohammad.* Chap. II is from *The Qur'an*, trans. by E. H. Palmer, 2 vols., Oxford, 1880

II. How Pippin became King of the Franks PAGE

49. Weakness of the later Merovingian kings 120
EINHARD, *Vita Karoli* (as below, No. 53), c. 1

50. Pope Zacharias authorizes the coronation of Pippin . . 121
Annales Laurissenses minores, ad an. 750: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, I, 139

51. Coronation of Pippin by the pope 122
EINHARD, *Annales*, ad an. 753 *sq.*: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, I, 139

III. The Lombards, Pope Stephen and Pippin

52. Letter of Pope Stephen to Pippin 122
Codex Carolinus, Ep. 9: Mon. Ger. Hist., Epist. III, 498; Jaffé, Bib. rer. Ger. IV, 48 *sqq.*

CHAPTER VII — CHARLEMAGNE

I. Charlemagne, the Man

53. Charlemagne's personal appearance and habits . . . 126
EINHARD, *Vita Karoli Magni*, cc. 22–25: Jaffé, Bib. rer. Ger. IV, 509 *sqq.*: Mon. Ger. Hist., octavo edition

II. Charlemagne and the Saxons

54. Charlemagne conquers the Saxons in order to convert them 129
Vita Sancti Sturmis (as above, No. 47), c. 22

55. The Rebellion of Widukind 129
EINHARD, *Annales* (as above, No. 51), ad an. 782

III. How Charlemagne was made Emperor

56. Charlemagne's coronation as emperor 131
EINHARD, Ibid., ad an. 799–801

IV. Charlemagne's Way of raising Troops

57. The Heerbann, or fine for refusing to join the army . 135
Capitulare Italicum: Mon. Ger. Hist., Capitularia regum Francorum, denuo edidit Alfredus Boretius, I, 205,—a new edition much superior to that first issued in the Monumenta by Pertz; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. VI, No. 5

58. Wealthy landholders required to go to the army in person 135
Capitulare missorum de exercitu promovendo, c. 1: Boretius (as above, No. 57), 137; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. VI, No. 5

PAGE

59. Nature of the supplies for the army 135
Capitulare Aquisgranense, cc. 9 *sq.*; Boretius (as above, No. 57), 171; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. VI, No. 5

60. Summons to Abbot Fulrad to join the army 136
Karoli ad Fulradum abbatem epistola; Boretius (as above, No. 57), 168; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. VI, No. 5

V. Charlemagne's Income from his Farms

61. Extracts from the Capitulary *de Villis* 137
Capitulare de villis: Boretius (as above, No. 57), 82 *sqq.*; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. III, No. 2

VI. Charlemagne's Ideals of Government

62. Extracts from the capitulary for the missi 139
Capitulare missorum generale: Boretius (as above, No. 57), 91 *sqq.*; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. VI, No. 5

VII. Charlemagne's Anxiety to improve Education

63. Charlemagne's letter on the dangers of ignorance . . 144
Karoli epistola de litteris colendis: Boretius (as above, No. 57), 79; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. VI, No. 5

64. Charlemagne commands the establishment of episcopal and monastery schools 145
Admonitio generalis, c. 72: Boretius (as above, No. 57), 59; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. VI, No. 5

CHAPTER VIII — THE DISRUPTION OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

I. The Northmen

65. Apollinaris Sidonius describes the Saxon pirates . . . 150
Epistulae, Lib. viii, Ep. 6 (close): Mon. Ger. Hist., Auc. ant. VIII, 132 *sq.*; trans. by HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, II, 366 *sq.*

66. A Northman's baptism 151
MONACHUS SANGALLENSIS, *De gestis Karoli imperatoris*, c. 19: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, II, 761 *sq.*

67. Opening of *The Story of Burnt Njal* 152
The Story of Burnt Njal, translated from the Norse by Dasent, 2 vols., 1861

II. Struggles between Sons of Louis the Pious

68. Death of Louis the Pious 155
RUDOLFUS FULDENSIS, *Annales*, ad an. 840 *sq.*: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, I, 362 *sqq.*

PAGE

69. The Northmen at Nantes 157
Annalium Bertinianorum pars secunda, ad an. 843: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, I, 439 *sq.*

III. A Melancholy Glimpse of the Conditions in the Ninth Century

70. An extract from the *Annals of Xanten* 158
Annales Xantenses, ad an. 844 *sqq.*: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, II, 227 *sqq.*

IV. How the Northmen harried Frankland and laid Siege to Paris

71. How the Northmen laid siege to Paris 163
Annales Vedastini, ad an. 882 *sqq.*: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, I, 529 *sqq.*

CHAPTER IX — FEUDALISM

I. The Older Institutions which serve to explain Feudalism

72. Grant of immunity to a bishop 171
Rozière, Recueil générale des formules usitées dans l'empire des Francs du V^e^ au X^e^ siècle. 3 vols. 1859–1871. No. 16; Vol. I, 17. Trans., — as well as the following numbers to 88 inclusive — by Cheyney, Tr. and Rp. Vol. IV, No. 3

73. Grant of a vill with immunity to a layman 172
Rozière, No. 147; Vol. I, 185

74. Land received as a beneficium from a monastery . . . 173
Rozière, No. 350; Vol. I, 433

75. A Frankish formula of commendation 175
Rozière, No. 43; Vol. I, 69

76. Formal acceptance of a follower by his lord 176
Rozière, No. 8; Vol. I, 8

II. The Granting of Fiefs

77. How an allodial tenure might be turned into a fief . . 176
Quantin, Recueil de pièces du XIIIme Siècle, No. 631, pp. 310 *sq.*

78. The count of Troyes grants a manor as a fief 177
Ibid., No. 2, p. 1

79. Record of grant of a fief to a knight 178
Historia Monasterii de Abingdon, II, 135, Rolls Series

80. The count of Champagne grants a fief to a bishop . . 178
Brussel, Usage des Fiefs, I, 3, note

PAGE

81. Pons of Mont-Saint-Jean becomes the man of the countess of Champagne 178
Quantin (as above, No. 77), No. 220, p. 101

82. How a knight accepted a money fief from the king of France 179
Boutaric, *Institutions militaires de la France*, p. 121

III. Ceremony of doing Homage and swearing Fealty

83. How the count of Flanders received the homage of his vassals 179
Galbert de Bruges, *De multro, traditione, et occisione gloriosi Karoli comitis Flandriarum;* ed. by Pirenne, p. 89: Collection de textes

84. The viscount of Carcassonne does homage to the abbot of St. Mary of Grasse 180
Teulet, Layettes du Trésor des Chartes, No. 39; Vol. I, p. 36

85. Rules for homage and fealty established by St. Louis . 182
Établissements de St. Louis, II, c. 19; ed. by Viollet, II, 395

86. How a prelate threatened his vassals with excommunication 183
Bouquet, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, X, 447 *sq.*

IV. Mutual Duties of Vassal and Lord

87. Fulbert of Chartres explains the duties of lord and vassal 184
Bouquet (as above, No. 86), X, 463

V. Feudal Military Service

88. List of vassals summoned by the king of France in 1272 185
Bouquet (as above, No. 86), XXIII, 753 *sq.* and 759 *sq.*

VI. Failure of Feudalism to secure Order. The Truce of God

89. Bishop Stubbs' definition of ideal feudalism 187
Constitutional History of England, Chap. IX, § 93

90. The truce of God 187
Mon. Ger. Hist., Leges, II, 55 *sqq.*; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. I, No. 2

CHAPTER X — THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRANCE

I. The Election of Hugh Capet

91. How Hugh Capet was chosen king 195
Richer, *Historiarum libri IV*, Lib. iv, cc. 11 *sq.*: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, III, 633 *sq.*

II. King Robert and his Unruly Vassals PAGE

92. King Robert and his troubles with his vassals 196
RAOUL GLABER, *Francorum historiae libri* V, iii, c. 2; ed. by Prou in Collection de textes, 1886, pp. 56 *sq.*

III. How Louis the Fat consolidated his Power

93. Suger's account of Louis the Fat and his vassals . . 198
Gesta Ludovici regis cognomento grossi, cc. 2, 3, 8, 23–25; ed. by Molinier in Collection de textes

IV. Philip Augustus and his Vassals

94. Philip suppresses a rebellion and extends the royal domain 206
RIGORD, *Gesta Philippi II Augusti regis Francorum*, cc. 9, 26–28; ed. by Delaborde, Soc. de l'hist. de Fr.

V. Philip Augustus and John of England

94a. How Philip Augustus took Normandy from John . . 209
RIGORD (as above, No. 94), cc. 138, 140–142

VI. St. Louis

95. Extracts from Joinville 213
JEAN, SIRE DE JOINVILLE, *Histoire de Saint-Louis*, texte original accompagné d'une traduction, par de Wailly, 2d ed., Paris, 1874, cc. 15 *sq.*; 47 *sq.* and 50; 6 and 12

CHAPTER XI — ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

I. King Alfred's Interest in Learning

96. Alfred's introduction to his translation of the *Pastoral Care* 222
King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care; ed. by Sweet (Early English Text Soc.), 1871, pp. 2 *sqq.*

II. The Battle of Hastings: English and Normans

97. Conduct of Harold and William in the battle of Hastings 224
WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *De gestis regum Anglorum libri* V, Lib. iii, §§ 241 *sqq.*; ed. by Stubbs, Rolls Series; trans. by Stevenson in The Church Historians of England, 1854; also in the Bohn Library

III. Rule of William the Conqueror

98. William orders Doomsday Book to be drawn up . . . 229
The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ad an. 1185 and 1187; ed. with an introduction by Benj. Thorpe, Rolls Series, II, 186 and 188 *sqq.*

IV. How the Great Charter was Won

PAGE

99. John and his barons 231

ROGER OF WENDOVER, *Chronica sive Liber qui dicitur Flores historiarum*, ad an. 1215; ed. by Hewlett in Rolls Series; trans. by Giles in the Bohn Library

V. Principal Provisions of the Great Charter

100. Principal articles of Magna Charta 233

Stubbs, Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History, 8th ed., 296 *sqq.*; trans. by Cheyney, Tr. and Rp. Vol. I, No. 6.

VI. Writs of Summons to the Model Parliament

101. Summonses to bishops, barons, and representatives of the towns and shires 239

Stubbs, Select Charters, 484 *sqq.*; trans. by Cheyney, Tr. and Rp. Vol. I, No. 6

CHAPTER XII — GERMANY AND ITALY IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

I. The Times of Henry I and Otto the Great

102. Germany in the early tenth century 245

Continuatio Reginonis Trevirensis, ad an. 907 *sqq.*: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, I, 614 *sqq.*

103. Election of Otto the Great 249

WIDUKIND, *Res gestae Saxonicae*, Lib. ii, cc. 1 *sq.*: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, III, 437 *sq.*

II. Rome and the Papacy in the Time of Otto the Great

104. Degradation of the papacy in the tenth century . . . 250

BENEDICTUS SANCTI ANDREAE MONACHUS, *Chronicon*, cc. 30 *sqq.*: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, III, 714 *sqq.*

III. Liutprand and his *Book of Retribution*

105. Liutprand explains why he wrote his book 256

Antapodosis, Lib. i, c. 1, and Lib. iii, c. 1: Mon. Ger. Hist., octavo ed.

IV. Bruno, the Ideal of a Scholar in the Tenth Century

106. Extract from Ruotger's *Life of Bruno* 259

RUOTGER, *Vita Brunonis*, selections from cc. 4–10 and 30: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, IV, 255 *sqq.*

CHAPTER XIII — THE CONFLICT BETWEEN GREGORY VII AND HENRY IV

I. The Early Years of Henry IV

PAGE

107. The early part of Henry IV's reign 266

EKKEHARD, *Chronicon universale*, ad an. 1057 *sqq.*: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, VI, 198 *sqq.*

II. The Issue between the Pope and the Emperor in the Matter of Investiture

108. Conference at Châlons in regard to investitures . . . 272

Suger (as above, No. 93), c. 9

III. Gregory VII's Conception of the Pope's Prerogatives

109. The *Dictatus* of Gregory VII 274

Gregorius VII, *Registrum*, Lib. ii, No. 55 a: Jaffé (Bib. rer. Ger., No. 43), II, 174 *sqq.*, and in the convenient *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Selecta*, ed. by Doeberl, III, p. 17

IV. Origin of the Troubles between Gregory VII and Henry IV

110. Decree forbidding lay investitures 275

Ibid. Lib. vi, 5b, and vii, 14a: Jaffé, II, 332 and 398 *sq.*; Doeberl, III, 16 *sq.* [I am somewhat indebted here, as well as in the following numbers to 117 inclusive, to the translation in Henderson's Select Historical Documents]

111. Gregory's letter upbraiding Henry for neglecting the papal decrees 276

Ibid. Lib. iii, No. 10: Jaffé, II, 218 *sqq.*, and Doeberl, III, 18 *sq.*

112. Henry's violent reply to Gregory 279

Mon. Ger. Hist., Leges, II, 47, and Doeberl, III, 24 *sqq.*

V. Gregory's Deposition of Henry IV. Henry's Penance at Canossa

113. First deposition and excommunication of Henry IV . 281

Register of Gregory VII (as above, No. 109), Lib. iii, No. 10a: Jaffé, II, 223 *sq.*, and Doeberl, III, 26

114. Gregory's account of Henry's penance at Canossa . . 282

Ibid. Lib. iv, No. 12: Jaffé, II, 256 *sqq.*, and Doeberl, III, 33 *sqq.*

VI. The Pope explains the Supremacy of the Spiritual Power

PAGE

115. Letter of Gregory to Bishop Hermann of Metz . . . 284

Contra illos qui stulte dicunt imperatorem excommunicari non posse a Romano pontifice, Ibid. Lib. viii, No. 21: Jaffé, II, 453 *sqq.*, and Doeberl, III, 40 *sqq.* The whole letter may be found translated in Henderson's Select Documents

VII. The Formal Settlement of the Question of Investiture

116. A proposed plan to keep the clergy out of politics . . 290

Paschalis II privilegium primae conventionis: Mon. Ger. Hist., Leges, II, 68 *sq.*, and Doeberl, III, 56 *sqq.*

117. Concordat of Worms 292

(a) *Priviligium Calixti pape secundi:* Mon. Ger. Hist., Leges, II, 75 *sq.*, and Doeberl, 59 *sq.* (b) *Preceptum Henrici quarti* [V] *imperatoris*, Doeberl, III, 60 *sqq.*, as published in the Mittheilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichischen Geschichte, VI, 105 *sqq.*

CHAPTER XIV — THE HOHENSTAUFEN EMPERORS AND THE POPES

I. The German Cities begin to take a Hand in Politics

118. How Cologne fought Henry V 296

Chronica regia Coloniensis, ad an. 1114 and 1187: ed. by Waitz in Mon. Ger. Hist., octavo ed., pp. 53 *sqq.* and 136

119. Situation of the towns in the Netherlands 300

Reiner, *Annales* ad an. 1203 and 1212: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, XVI, 656 *sq.* and 664

II. Otto of Freising's Account of the Italian Cities

120. Emperor Frederick's letter to Otto of Freising . . . 302

Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici* (at opening): Mon. Ger. Hist., octavo ed., p. 1

121. Otto's description of the Lombard towns 303

Ibid. Lib. ii, cc. 13 and 13b: octavo ed., pp. 13 *sqq.*

III. Struggle over the Throne between Philip and Otto

122. How the rivals, Philip and Otto, were elected 307

Chronica regia Coloniensis, ad an. 1198: octavo ed., 162 *sqq.*

CHAPTER XV — THE CRUSADES

I. Pope Urban's Address at Clermont

PAGE

123. Urban's speech at Clermont 312

ROBERTUS MONACHUS, *Historia Iherosolytana*, Lib. i, cc. 1 *sq.*: Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux, III, 727 *sqq.* The extract in note is from FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *Historia Iherosolytana*, Lib. i, c. 3: Ibid. p. 324; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. I, No. 2

II. The First Crusade

124. Ekkehard on the opening of the First Crusade . . . 316

EKKEHARD (as above, No. 107), ad an. 1099: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, VI, 211 *sqq.*

125. Anna Comnena on the bad manners of the crusaders . 320

Michaud, Bibliothèque des croisades, III, 393 *sq.*

III. Campaigns in Palestine, from the Letters of the Crusaders

126. Stephen of Blois to his wife 321

D'Achery, Spicilegium, 2d ed., III, 430 *sq.*; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. I, No. 4

127. Godfrey of Bouillon and his companions to the pope . 325

Annales Sancti Disibodi (to wit, the monastery of Disenberg near Mayence), ad an. 1100: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, XVII, 17 *sq.*; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. I, No. 4

IV. St. Bernard and the Second Crusade

128. St. Bernard exhorts the people to take arms against the infidel 330

Epist. (No. 363), *ad orientales Franciae clerum et populum:* Migne, CLXXXII, cols. 564 *sqq.*; trans. by EALES, *Life and Works of St. Bernard*, II, 906 *sqq.*

129. St. Bernard blamed for the outcome of the crusade . . 334

GAUFRIDUS, *Vita S. Bernardi Clarvallensis*, Lib. iii, c. 2: Acta sanctorum, August, Vol. IV, 298; Migne, CLXXXV, cols. 308 *sq.*

V. A Holy Pilgrim

130. The pilgrimage of Udalrich to Jerusalem. 336

Vita prior S. Udalrici prioris Cellensis: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, XII, 252

VI. Inducements offered to the Crusaders

PAGE

131. Privileges granted by Eugenius III (1146) 337

OTTO OF FREISING, *Gesta Friderici*, Lib. i, c. 35: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, XX, 371; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. I, No. 2

132. Privileges granted by Innocent III (1215) 338

Mansi, Conciliorum collectio, XXII, 1057

VII. A Glimpse of the Court of the Eastern Emperor

133. Luitprand's account of his reception in Constantinople . 340

Antapodosis, Lib. vi, cc. 5–9: Mon. Ger. Hist., octavo ed.

CHAPTER XVI — THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH AT ITS HEIGHT

I. The Preëminence of the Church

134. The bull *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII (1302) . . 346

Text based upon the papal register given by Mury, Revue des questions historiques, XLVI, 255 *sq.*

II. The Seven Sacraments

135. An account of the seven sacraments by Eugenius IV (1438) 348

From the bull *Exultate Deo*, Denzinger, Enchiridion symbolorum et definitionum, pp. 201 *sqq.*

III. Tales illustrating the Miraculous Power of the Sacraments

136. Christ is seen in the hands of a priest 355

CÆSAR OF HEISTERBACH, *Dialogus miraculorum*, Dist. ix, c. 28; ed. by Strange, 2 vols., 1851, Vol. II, 186; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. II, No. 4

137. Bees construct a church for the host 355

Anecdotes historiques, Légendes et Apologues tirés du Recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon; ed. Lecoy de la Marche, 1877, No. 317, pp. 266 *sq.* (in the publications of the Soc. de l'hist. de Fr.); trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. II, No. 4

138. Through confession a forgotten prayer is erased from the devil's register 356

STEPHEN OF BOURBON (as above, No. 137), No. 176, pp. 155 *sq.*

PAGE

139. The Virgin saves the reputation of an erring matron and monk 357

The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry; ed. by T. F. Crane; pub. by the Folk Lore Society, 1890, No. cclxxxii, pp. 117 *sqq.*; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. II, No. 4

IV. The Privilege of Benefit of Clergy

140. How a clergyman might be saved from the gallows by reading a line 359

Philobiblon of Richard of Bury, c. iv; ed. and trans. by E. C. Thomas, 1889, pp. 173 *sqq.*

V. How the Churches and Monasteries were Supported

141. The revenue of a parish church 361

Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, XXIV, 467

142. Manors given to the monastery of Zwifalt 362

Ortlieb, *De fundatione monasterii Zwivildensis*, Lib. ii, c. 5: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, X, 74 *sq.*

143. The family of the monastery of Zwifalt 363

Ibid. Lib. ii, c. 9; Pertz, pp. 77 *sq.*

VI. Tales illustrating the Mediæval Attitude towards Heretics

144. The body of a burned heretic turns into toads . . . 364

Luke, bishop of Tuy, *De altera vita*, Lib. iii, c. 15: in Magna bibliotheca veterum patrum; ed. of 1688, XIII, 283

145. Two heretics work miracles with the devil's aid . . . 365

Cæsar of Heisterbach (as above, No. 136), Dist. v, c. 18, Vol. I, 269 *sqq.*; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. II, No. 4

CHAPTER XVII — HERESY AND THE FRIARS

I. Denunciations of the Evil Lives of the Clergy

146. *The Revelation of Golias the Bisshoppe* 371

The Latin poems attributed to Walter Mapes, ed. Thomas Wright (Camden Soc. Pub.), London, 1841, pp. 271 *sqq.*

147. Walther von der Vogelweide on the practices of the popes 375

Trans. by Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, Vol. I, Chap. I

148. A troubadour's description of the abuses in the Church 375

Ibid.

II. Report of the Habits of the Norman Clergy PAGE

149. Habits of the Norman Clergy in the Thirteenth Century 378

EUDES RIGAUD, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, Rouen, 1847, 4to, pp. 35, 245, 305, and 159

III. The Waldensian and Albigensian Heretics

150. Waldo of Lyons 380

Ex chronico universali anonymi Laudunensis, s. a. 1173: Mon. Ger. Hist., Pertz, XXVI, 447 *sq.*

151. Description of the Albigenses 381

BERNARD OF GUI, *Pratica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*; ed. Douais, Pars V, c. 1, § 4

IV. The Efficacy of the Sacraments in Polluted Hands

152. The efficacy of the sacraments in the hands of bad priests 383

PILCHDORFFIUS, *Contra Waldenses*, cc. xvi–xvii; in Maxima bibliotheca patrum (1677), XXV, 281 *sq.*

V. Attitude of the Civil Government toward Heretics

153. Provisions of laws of Frederick II concerning heretics . 385

Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi; ed. Huilliard-Bréholles, Tome IV, Pt. I, pp. 5 *sq.*

VI. Life and Character of St. Francis

154. How St. Francis undertook his mission 387

THOMAS OF CELANO, *Vita prima*, Book I, cc. ii–iv: Acta sanctorum, October, Vol. II, pp. 685 *sqq.*

155. St. Francis preaches to the birds 391

Ibid. c. vi, p. 669

156. The will of St. Francis 392

Acta sanctorum, October, Vol. II, pp. 663 *sq.*; trans. in Sabatier, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, 337 *sqq.*

CHAPTER XVIII — THE PEOPLE IN COUNTRY AND TOWN

I. The Manor and its People

157. Official description of a manor belonging to Peterborough Abbey 399

Liber niger monasterii S. Petri de Burgo, in Chronicon Peterburgense, pp. 160 *sq.* (Camden Soc. Pub.); trans. by Cheyney, Tr. and Rp. Vol. III, No. 5

PAGE

158. A manor in Sussex 400
Custumals of Battle Abbey, pp. 17 *sqq.* (Camden Soc. Pub.); trans. by Cheyney, Tr. and Rp. Vol. III, No. 5

159. Description of an English manor house 404
Historical MSS. Commission Reports, 9, I, pp. 35 *sq.*; trans. by Cheyney, Tr. and Rp. Vol. III, No. 5

160. Freeing a serf 405
Dugdale, *Monasticon*, I, 394; trans. by Cheyney, Tr. and Rp. Vol. III, No. 5

II. The Mediæval Town

161. Customs of the town of Chester 406
Domesday Book, I, 262, b: Stubbs, Select Charters, 83 *sq.*; trans. by Cheyney, Tr. and Rp. Vol. II, No. 1

162. Opening of charter granted to Lincoln 408
Rymer, Foedera, I, 40: Stubbs, Select Charters, 158 *sq.*; trans. by Cheyney, Tr. and Rp. Vol. II, No. 1

163. Charter granted to Chester 408
Gross, *Gild Merchant*, II, 140; trans. by Cheyney, Tr. and Rp. Vol. II, No. 1

164. Articles of the spurriers of London 409
Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 226 *sqq.*; trans. by Cheyney, Tr. and Rp. Vol. II, No. 1

165. Rules of the guild of white-tawyers 411
Ibid. pp. 232 *sqq.*

III. The Hanseatic League

166. Otto II promises protection to the merchants of Magdeburg (975) 412
Hansisches Urkundenbuch, ed. Höhlbaum, Halle, 1876, I, 1, No. 1

167. Alliance between Münster, Dortmund, Soest, and Lippstadt (1253) 413
Ibid. I, 164 *sq.*, No. 460

168. Agreement between London and Hansa towns (1282) . 414
Ibid. I, 308 *sqq.*, No. 902

IV. Knights, Burghers, and Farmers

169. Knights and burghers in the thirteenth century . . . 416
Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Wilhelm von Orange*, modern German version by San Marte, Halle, 1873

170. Farmer Helmbrecht 418
Wernher. *Helmbrecht*. Haupt's Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, IV; Freitag's version translated by G. L. Burr and privately printed

V. Maltreatment of the Jews

PAGE

171. Expulsion of the Jews from France 426
RIGORD (as above, No. 94), cc. 6, 12, 13, 15, and 16

CHAPTER XIX — THE CULTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

I. The Development of Modern Languages

172. An example of Anglo-Saxon 431
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (as above, No. 98), ad an. 1068

173. English of the thirteenth century 432
The Story of Genesis and Exodus: an early English song (*ca.* A.D. 1250), ed. by Morris (Early Eng. Text Soc.)

174. Comparison of the various stages in the development of French 433
Histoire de la langue et littérature française, publiée sous la direction de Petit de Julleville, I, lxxvii

175. A few lines of Provençal 434
From a metrical romance, *Flamenca,* written in the first half of the thirteenth century: LANGLOIS, *La Société française au 13ième siècle,* p. 157

176. The ideals of the troubadours 434
SMITH, J. H., *The Troubadours at Home,* I, 150 *sq.*

177. A troubadour's song by Arnault de Maruelh 435
Ibid. I, 169 *sq.*

178. The troubadours' creed, from Sordel 436
Ibid. I, 269 *sq.*

179. A song by Vidal 436
Ibid. I, 302

180. A song by Bernard de Ventadorn 437
Ibid. II, 162

181. A song by Walther von der Vogelweide 437
Lays of the Minnesingers; ed. by Edg. Taylor, London, 1825, pp. 204 *sq.*

II. Mediæval Natural Science

182. Extracts from Alexander of Neckam 439
De naturis rerum, Lib. i, cc. 23 and 78; Lib. ii, c. 98; ed. by Thomas Wright (Rolls Series), pp. 71, 122 *sq.*, and 183

183. Mediæval ideas of the earth and stars 441
Popular Treatises on Science written during the Middle Ages in Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and English; ed. by Thomas Wright, London, 1841

PAGE

184. The pelican and its habits 442
Ibid. pp. 115 *sq.*

185. Of fauns, cyclops, etc. 443
Bartholomew Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, as selected and modernized by Steele, *Mediæval Lore*, London, 1893, pp. 128 *sq.* and 134 *sq.*

III. Historical Knowledge in the Middle Ages

186. How the Merovingian kings sprang from the Trojans . 445
Rigord (as above, No. 94)

IV. Abelard and the Universities

187. Abelard's popularity as a teacher 447
McCabe, *Abelard*, New York, 1901, 82 *sq.*

188. Abelard's autobiography 447
Abaelardus, P., *Opera;* ed. V. Cousin, Paris, 1849–1859, 2 vols.; Vol. I (first letter)

189. Abelard's *Yea and Nay* 450
Petrus Abelardus *Sic et Non;* ed. Henke et Lindenkohl, Marburg, 1851. (Not complete as given in Cousin's *Opera inedita* of Abelard)

190. Privileges granted to students by Frederick Barbarossa 452
Habita of Frederick I: Mon. Ger. Hist., Leges, II, 114; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. II, No. 3

191. The system of lecturing at Paris 453
McCabe (as above, No. 187), 79 *sq.*

192. Student life at Paris 454
Jacques de Vitry, *Historia occidentalis*, Lib. ii, c. 7; trans. by Munro in Tr. and Rp. Vol. II, No. 3

V. Supremacy of Aristotle in the Mediæval Universities. Scholasticism

193. Averroës on Aristotle's greatness 456
Averroes, introduction to his edition of Aristotle's *Physics*

194. Aquinas and his work 458
Rashdall, *History of the Mediæval Universities*, I, 365 and 367

VI. Roger Bacon and the Beginning of Modern Experimental Science

195. Roger Bacon's eulogy of Peter of Maricourt 460
Opus Tertium, c. cxiii; *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita;* ed. by Brewer in the Rolls Series, 1859, pp. 46 *sq.*

PAGE

196. Bacon prophesies marvelous progress in science . . . 461

Epistola fratris Rogerii Baconis de secretis operibus artis et naturae, et de nullitate magiae; Brewer's ed., 523 *sqq.*

CHAPTER XX — THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

I. Froissart's Account of the Battle of Crécy

197. The great battle between the French and the English . 466

FROISSART, *Chroniques*, cc. 128 *sqq.*; trans. based upon that of Lord Berners — made in the time of Henry VIII — given in the Globe ed. of *The Chronicles of Froissart*, ed. by G. C. Macaulay, pp. 102 *sqq.*

II. How King John of France was captured at Poitiers

198. The capture of King John 470

Ibid. cc. 164 and 168; Globe ed., pp. 128 *sq.* and 131

III. Devastation wrought by the Hundred Years' War

199. Sack of Limoges (1370) 472

FROISSART (as above, No. 197), c. 283; Globe ed., p. 201

200. How the count of Arundel burned a town 474

(a) DENIFLE, *La désolation des églises, monastères et hôpitaux en France*, 1897, I, 27, No. 95. (b) Ibid. I, 275, No. 600

201. Conditions in the time of Charles VII 474

THOMAS BASIN, *Histoire de Charles VII et de Louis XI*, in Denifle, op. cit. I, 514 *sq.*, No. 999

IV. *The Vision of Piers the Plowman*

202. Extracts from *Piers Plowman* 475

LANGLAND, *Vision of Piers Plowman*, passus vi, v, vii; done into modern English by Miss Kate M. Warren, London, 1899

V. Charles the Bold of Burgundy and the Swiss

203. Charles the Bold and the Swiss 477

PHILIP DE COMMINES, Mémoires, Liv. vi, c. 12, and Liv. v, c. 2; trans. in Bohn Library, II, 84 *sq.*, I, 303 *sqq.*, and 311 *sq.*

VI. Louis XI of France

204. Character and troublous death of Louis XI 481

Ibid. Liv. vi, c. 12, and c. 11; Bohn trans. II, 80 *sq.*, 70 *sq.*, and 75 *sqq.*

CHAPTER XXI — THE POPES AND THE COUNCILS

I. Might the Civil Government tax the Church Property?

PAGE

205. The bull *Clericis Laicos* 488
Rymer's Foedera (ed. of 1727), II, 706 *sq.*

II. Marsiglio of Padua and his *Defender of Peace*

206. Analysis of the *Defensor pacis* 491
Defensor pacis, Lib. iii and Lib. ii, c. 16 (end), in Goldast, Monarchia Romani imperii, etc., 1611–1614, Tom. II

III. Wycliffe's Attack on Pope and Clergy

207. Wycliffe on the evil state of the clergy 497
Select English Works of John Wycliffe; ed. by Thomas Arnold, Clarendon Press, 1869–1871, 3 vols.: I, 208 *sq.*; II, 30 *sq.*

208. Wycliffe on auricular confession, etc. 499
Ibid. II, 87 *sq.* and 169 *sq.*

209. Statement of the views of Wycliffe's followers . . . 500
Ibid. II, 457 *sqq.*

IV. The Popes at Avignon. Origin of the Great Schism

210. Letter of Petrarch's describing the papal court at Avignon 502
PETRARCHA *Opera omnia*, Basel, 1581, — "Epistolae sine titulo," V

211. Beginning of the schism in holy Church 504
FROISSART (as above, No. 197), cc. 326 *sq.*; Globe ed., 207 *sqq.*

212. Nicholas of Clamanges on the three chief vices in the Church 508
Von der Hardt, Magnum Constantiense concilium, I, Pt. III, pp. 7 and 88

213. How corruption spread from the prelates to the lower clergy 510
DIETRICH VRIE, Ibid. Tom. I, pp. 104 *sq.*

V. The Council of Constance

214. The decree *Sacrosancta* 511
Von der Hardt (as above, No. 212), Tom. IV, p. 98

215. The decree *Frequens* 512
Ibid. Tom. IV, p. 98 (1436)

216. List of abuses discussed at Constance 513
Ibid. Tom. IV (1452)

CHAPTER XXII — THE ITALIAN CITIES AND THE RENAISSANCE

I. The Italian Despots

PAGE

217. Machiavelli's advice to despots 516
Il Principe, cc. 13, 15, 17; trans., among other places, in Morley's Universal Library

II. Humanism

218. Dante and the great writers of Greece and Rome . . 520
Divine Comedy, canto iv (close): trans. by C. E. Norton

219. Dante's defense of Italian 522
Convito, Lib. i, c. 11; ed. by Moore; trans. (badly) in Morley's Universal Library; better by Miss Katharine Hillard

220. Dante's account of his sad life 524
Ibid. Lib. i, c. 3

221. Petrarch's description of himself 524
Epistola ad posteros: Epistolae de rebus familiaribus et variae; ed. by Fracassetti, Vol. I; trans. in ROBINSON AND ROLFE, *Petrarch*, 59 *sqq.* and 63

222. Petrarch's wide reputation 526
Ibid. *Ep. Fam.*, Lib. xiii, 7: Robinson and Rolfe, 165 *sq.*

223. Petrarch copies a work of Cicero 527
Ibid. *Ep. Fam.*, Lib. xviii, 12: Robinson and Rolfe, 275 *sqq.*

224. Founding of the Vatican Library by Nicholas V . . . 529
VESPASIANO, *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV*, Life of Nicholas V, cc. 25 *sq.*; trans. by Whitcomb, Literary Source-Book of the Italian Renaissance

225. How Cosimo de' Medici founded a library 530
Ibid. Life of Cosimo, cc. 12 *sqq.*

III. The Artists of the Renaissance

226. Cellini and the art-loving pope, Clement VII 532
Vita da lui medisimo scritta, Lib. i, cc. 43 *sq.* and 51; trans. by Thos. Nugent, 2 vols., 1812; also by Symonds, Roscoe, and others

227. Remarkable versatility of Leonardo da Vinci 535
VASARI *Vite de' più eccelenti pittore*, etc.; trans. by Mrs. Foster, Bohn Library, II, 366 *sqq.*

228. Kindly disposition of Raphael 536
Ibid. III, 61 *sq.*

229. Michael Angelo and the popes: his character and aims 537
Ibid. V, 253, 257 *sq.*, 293, 312 *sq.*, and 335

230. Michael Angelo's fiery impetuosity 541
VIGNERO, as quoted by Mrs. Foster, V, 242, note.

READINGS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL POINT OF VIEW

Primary or original historical sources.

It is clear that all our information in regard to past events and conditions must be derived from evidence of some kind. This evidence is called the *source*. Sometimes there are a number of good and reliable sources for an event, as, for example, for the decapitation of Charles I, or for the march of Napoleon into Russia. Sometimes there is but a single, unreliable source, as, for instance, in the case of the burial of Alaric in a river bed.[1] For a great many important matters about which we should like to know there are, unfortunately, no written sources at all, and we can only guess how things were. For example, we do not know what the Germans were doing before Cæsar came into contact with them and took the trouble to give a brief account of them. We can learn but little about the bishops of Rome before the time of Constantine, for few references to them have come down to us.

Secondary sources.

Few, however, of those who read and study history ever come in contact with the *primary*, or first-hand

[1] See below, p. 43.

sources; they get their information at second hand. It is much more convenient to read what Gibbon has to say of Constantine than to refer to Eusebius, Eutropius, and other ancient writers from whom he gained his knowledge. Moreover, Gibbon carefully studied and compared all the primary sources, and it may be urged that he has given a truer, fuller, and more attractive account of the period than can be found in any one of them. His *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is certainly a work of the highest rank; but, nevertheless, it is only a report of others' reports. It is therefore not a *primary* but a *secondary* source.

Historical manuals usually contain third-hand information, or worse.

Most of the historical knowledge current among us is not, however, derived from even secondary sources, such as Gibbon and similar authoritative writers, but comes from the reading of text-books, encyclopedias, stories, dramas, and magazine articles. Popular manuals and articles are commonly written by those who know little or nothing of the primary sources; they are consequently at least *third* hand, even when based upon the best secondary accounts. As a matter of fact, they are usually patched together from older manuals and articles, and may be four, five, or six removes from the original source of knowledge.

Repetition the enemy of accuracy.

It is well known that the oftener a report passes from mouth to mouth the less trustworthy and accurate does it tend to become. Unimportant details which appeal to the imagination will be magnified, while fundamental considerations are easily forgotten, if they happen to be prosaic and commonplace. Historians, like other men, are sometimes fond of good stories and may be led astray by some false rumor which, once started into

circulation, gets farther and farther from the truth with each repetition.

Sad example of the mythical panic of the year 1000.

For example, a distinguished historian of the Church, Cardinal Baronius, writing about 1600, made the statement, upon very insufficient evidence, that, as the year 1000 approached, the people of Europe generally believed that the world was about to come to an end. Robertson, a very popular Scotch historian of the eighteenth century, repeated the statement and went on to describe the terrible panic which seized upon sinful men as the awful year drew on. Succeeding writers, including some very distinguished ones, accepted and even elaborated Robertson's account. About thirty years ago, however, a French scholar pointed out that there was really no adequate basis for this strange tale. To the chroniclers of the time the year 1000 was clearly no more portentous than 997 or 1003. This story of the panic, which passed current as historical fact for some three hundred years, offers an excellent illustration of the danger of relying upon secondary sources.[1]

The importance of the question, Where did the writer obtain his information?

One of the first questions then to ask upon taking up an historical work is, Where did the writer obtain his information? Has he simply copied his statements from the more easily accessible works in his own language, however unreliable and out of date they may be; or has he, dissatisfied with such uncertain sources, familiarized himself with the most recent researches of the distinguished scholars in his field, in whatever language they may have been written; or, still better, has he himself made a personal study of the original evidence which

[1] See an interesting account of this matter by Professor George L. Burr in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. VI, pp. 429 *sqq*.

has come down to us of the events and conditions which he discusses?

For example, a little book or essay on Charlemagne might be written after reading Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, West's *Alcuin*, and one or two other easily accessible books on the subject. On the other hand, the writer might turn to the great French and German treatises on Charlemagne's reign and acquaint himself with all the articles which have appeared on the subject in historical magazines or in the transactions of learned societies. Every conscientious historian would wish, however, to go still farther and see the evidence with his own eyes and draw his own conclusions. He would turn to the sources themselves and carefully read the Annals of the Monastery of Lorsch, the life of Charlemagne by his secretary, Einhard, and the so-called Annals of Einhard. He would also scrutinize all the numerous laws passed in Charlemagne's reign and consult all the writers of the time who refer to the emperor or to public events. In this way he would master all that the past has handed down to us upon this subject and would know all that is to be known about the matter. The most reliable historian, therefore, is one who examines the sources for himself, but who at the same time takes advantage of the suggestions, criticisms, and explanations which have been made by other scholars who have also studied the original documents.

Advantages of making some use of the primary sources in teaching and studying history.

No improvement in the methods of historical instruction in our high schools and colleges bids fair to produce better results than the plan of bringing the student into contact with the first-hand accounts of events, or, as they are technically termed, the *primary sources*.

This term may perhaps call up in the minds of some the vision of a solitary stoop-shouldered, spectacled enthusiast, engaged in painfully deciphering obscure Latin abbreviations on yellow parchment. But it is a mistake to conclude that the primary sources are always difficult to get at, dull, and hard to read. On the contrary, they are sometimes ready to hand, and are often more vivid and entertaining than even the most striking descriptions by the pen of gifted writers like Gibbon or Macaulay.

The best secondary authorities stand to the sources somewhat as the description of a work of art or of a masterpiece of literature stands to the original. Just as we cannot afford to ignore the picture itself, or the great poem or drama, and confine ourselves to some one else's account of it, so in our historical work we ought to grasp every opportunity of examining for ourselves the foundations upon which history rests.

It may, of course, be urged that the trained historian, after acquainting himself with the men and the circumstances of a particular period, can make better use of the sources than any relatively unskilled student. But, admitting the force of this argument, there is, nevertheless, so much to be learned from a study of the original accounts that cannot be reproduced by the most skilled hand, that no earnest student or reader should content himself with second-hand descriptions when primary sources are available.

Vividness of the primary sources.

The sources are unconsciously molded by the spirit of the time in which they were written. Every line gives some hint of the period in which the author lived and makes an impression upon us which volumes of

second-hand accounts can never produce. The mere information, too, comes to us in a form which we do not easily forget. The facts sink into our memory.

One who actually talked with Attila, or who witnessed the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders, is clearly more likely to excite our interest than a writer of our own day, however much he may know of the king of the Huns or of the first crusade. It makes no great impression upon us to be told that the scholars of Dante's time had begun to be interested once more in the ancient learning of the Greeks and Romans; but no one can forget Dante's own poetic account of his kindly reception in the lower regions by the august representatives of pagan literature, — Homer, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan, — people "with eyes slow and grave, of great authority in their looks," who "spake seldom and with soft voices."

A study of the sources cultivates judgment and fair-mindedness.

Moreover, the study of the sources enables us to some extent to form our own opinions of the past, so that we need not rely entirely upon mere manuals, which are always one, and generally two or three, removes from the sources themselves. When we get at the sources themselves we no longer merely read and memorize; we begin to consider what may be safely inferred from the statements before us and so develop the all-important faculty of criticism. We are not simply accumulating facts but are attempting to determine their true nature and meaning.

The power to do this is not alone necessary to scholarly work; it is of the utmost importance as well in dealing with the affairs of everyday life. To take a single illustration: one cannot fail to see from a study of the sources that Luther was exceedingly unfair to his

enemies and ascribed their conduct to evil motives when they were acting quite consistently and according to what they considered the truth. His opponents, on the other hand, treated him with equal unfairness and proclaimed him a wicked and profligate man because he refused to accept their views.

We meet precisely the same unfairness nowadays, as, for instance, in the case of a municipal election, where each party speaks only evil of the other. It is, however, not so hard to look impartially at the motives and conduct of men who lived long ago as it is to be fair-minded in matters which interest us personally very deeply. By cultivating sympathy and impartiality in dealing with the past we may hope to reach a point where we can view the present coolly and temperately. In this way really thoughtful, historical study serves to develop the very fundamental virtues of sympathy, fairness, and caution in forming our judgments.[1]

Former difficulties in the way of using manuscript sources.

Even as lately as a hundred years ago the path to the sources of European history was still a thorny one. The manuscripts of historical importance were often scattered about in innumerable small collections, chiefly in the monasteries. The documents were stacked up in dark rooms, damp cellars, and dusty garrets. They were often carelessly transcribed, full of blunders, and illegible except to those specially versed in the art of deciphering ancient handwriting. There were usually no catalogues and nothing to guide the investigator to the material of which

[1] A fuller discussion of this matter will be found in the excellent introduction to *Historical Sources in Schools* (a report drawn up by Professor C. D. Hazen and others for the New England Teachers Association), The Macmillan Company, 1902, 60 cents.

he was in search. He was forced to travel from place to place and turn over masses of worthless or irrelevant matter in the uncertain quest for the little which might be useful to him.

Amenities of modern historical investigation.

But all this is changed. The scholar may now sit at a convenient desk in a comfortable, well-lighted library; he has a clearly printed book before him, the text of which has been established by a comparison of all the known manuscripts of the work in question. These have been collated by an expert; errors have been eliminated, and difficult passages annotated. The work has been carefully analyzed and supplied with an index, so that one may discover in a few moments just those paragraphs which have to do with the subject in hand.

How the sources have been printed in convenient collections.

The task of rendering the sources available has been a long and painful one, and has been going on for three or four hundred years. As early as the sixteenth century scholars began to bring together the mediæval chronicles and print them in convenient collections. In the time of Louis XIV a group of Benedictine monks in France won new distinction for their ancient order by publishing several admirable series and by preparing treatises to facilitate historical research.

Progress during the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century witnessed a development of the critical scientific spirit which has made it necessary to reprint many sources that had appeared previously in a defective form. Moreover, thousands of volumes of precious material hitherto available only in manuscript have been added to our resources.

The *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*

The most notable of the many collections is that which has been in course of publication in Germany since 1826, — the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.* Begun under

the auspices of an historical society, it was, upon the death of Pertz, the original editor, placed under the supervision of a government commission (1875). The volumes published since that date have established a standard of the highest excellence.[1]

In England many volumes of historical material have been issued since 1858 under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and constitute the so-called "Rolls Series." France, Italy, Austria, Belgium, and other European countries have each their series, great and small. Some of these enjoy the support of the government, but the greater part of them are due to the enterprise of historical societies or individual scholars.[2]

Research in European history can now be carried on in the great libraries of the United States.

So rapidly are the sources being printed that it is no longer necessary in most fields of historical research to rely, as formerly, upon the manuscripts in the European libraries and archives. Some, at least, of our very best university and public libraries now contain many of the great collections of printed sources, and it is possible to carry on satisfactory historical research in some fields in Boston or New York as well as in London or Paris.[3]

Examples of the modern apparatus for historical research

It would be useless to enumerate the names of these many series, even of the very important ones, for it is impossible to infer from the general title of an extensive set what particular works and documents it contains. Moreover, the modern publication, investigation,

[1] For a description of the *Monumenta* see below, pp. 262 *sq.*

[2] See Bourne, *The Teaching of History*, Chapter II, for a brief account of the enterprises in this field. A fuller account is given by Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, "Einleitung," pp. 1–40.

[3] The chief collections of material, whether in the original languages or in English translation, will be found mentioned in the bibliographies given below at the close of the chapters.

and criticism of the sources have led to the preparation of a number of indispensable works of reference which do not aim to deal directly with history but to serve as a guide to those in search of the material upon which the historian must rely. A very few of the most noteworthy will be mentioned here as illustrations of the apparatus necessary in all professional historical study.

Bibliographies of sources.

To learn what the sources are and where they may be found is the first requisite of historical investigation. A French writer, Langlois, has published a very useful bibliography of historical bibliographies,[1] — a catalogue of the best lists of sources and of historical treatises.

Potthast's *Wegweiser*.

Such lists are very numerous and often voluminous. The most useful and scholarly is Potthast's *Wegweiser*, or "guide," in two stout volumes.[2] The compiler has, with infinite patience, sought to bring together in an alphabetical list the sources for the history of western Europe from the year 400 to 1500, and to state when and where they have been printed. One anxious to learn whether there has been a new critical edition of a particular chronicle, or whether there are any lives of St. Boniface, or Gregory VII, or Frederick Barbarossa, written by those who lived in their times, can obtain the desired information from Potthast, as well as a list of modern works relating to the topic under consideration.

Bibliographies for particular countries.

Admirable guides exist for the study of particular countries. German scholars have compiled a list[3] of all the

[1] Langlois, *Manuel de bibliographie historique*, Part I, "Instruments bibliographiques," 2d ed., Paris, 1901, 4 fr.

[2] *Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des Europäischen Mittelalters bis 1500*, 2 vols., 2d ed., Berlin, 1895–1896, M. 26.50.

[3] Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte*, 6th ed., Göttingen, 1894, M. 12.

important books and articles relating to the history of their own country from the time of Tacitus to the present day. A still better and more extensive work by Molinier and others is in course of publication for the history of France.[1] Of course the history both of France and of Germany is so closely associated with that of other European countries that the above-mentioned guides are very valuable for the student of general European affairs. A similar collection of titles has been prepared by Professor Charles Gross for England.[2]

Criticism of the sources.

After discovering the sources it is essential to determine their character and reliability. There are special treatises upon this important subject.[3] The best and most generally useful is perhaps Wattenbach's Historical Sources for Germany during the Middle Ages,[4] in which the various writers and their works are thoroughly discussed. Molinier gives many useful hints in his great bibliography referred to above. A discussion of the historical writers of the Middle Ages is given in *Early Chroniclers of Europe*.[5] I know of no other work of the kind available in English except that of Flint, who, in his interesting *History of the Philosophy of History*,[6]

[1] *Les sources de l'histoire de France, des origines aux guerres d'Italie (1494)*; — to be continued to 1815 — 5 vols., Paris, 1901 *sqq.*, 5 fr. a volume.

[2] *Sources of English History*, Longmans, 1901, $5.00.

[3] For brief accounts of the results of modern criticism of the sources see the Introduction to Henderson's *History of Germany in the Middle Ages*, and Bury's Introduction to his edition of Gibbon, pp. 45 *sqq.*

[4] *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter bis zur Mitte des 13ten Jahrhundert*, 2 vols., 6th ed., 1893–1894, M. 20. (Vol. I of a 7th edition appeared in 1904.)

[5] *England* by Gairdner, *France* by Masson, and *Italy* by Balzani. Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 3 vols., London, 1883–1888.

[6] Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894, $4.00.

takes up in turn the writers dealing with France, especially in modern times. Bury, in the appendices which he has added to his edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, mentions and criticises briefly many sources. Indeed, it is not at all uncommon in modern scientific histories to find similar discussions.

Methods of historical research; Bernheim's manual.

By far the most important treatise upon the use of the sources and the methods of historical investigation is that of Bernheim.[1] Every one proposing to devote himself to historical research should be thoroughly familiar with this remarkable work. No other single volume contains such a wealth of valuable information in regard to almost all branches of knowledge which directly concern the historical student. Suggestive, but far less exhaustive than Bernheim's manual, is the *Introduction to the Study of History* by Langlois and Seignobos.[2]

Du Cange's Dictionary of Mediæval Latin.

For an explanation of the many troublesome terms and expressions used in mediæval writings one should turn to the monumental Dictionary of Mediæval Latin originally compiled by Du Cange and first issued in 1678.[3] In successive editions, later scholars have added many terms which Du Cange overlooked, but one is still often disappointed not to find words he would like to have explained.

Giry's Manual of Diplomatics.

For all matters relating to public and private documents, decrees, papal bulls, methods of dating, etc.

[1] *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie, mit Nachweis der wichtigsten Quellen und Hilfsmittel zum Studium der Geschichte*, 3d and 4th eds., Leipzig, 1903, M. 17.

[2] New York, Henry Holt, $2.25. The French original, however, costs but 3 fr.

[3] *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 7 vols., Paris, 1840–1850. This edition, which may be had for about $40, is preferable to a more recent reprint which appeared 1883–1887.

Giry's Manual of Diplomatics[1] is the most useful modern work.

Historical atlases.

Of the historical atlases the most generally used is that edited by Droysen,[2] but Schrader's[3] is excellent and contains a number of important special maps and plans as well as an index. A truly admirable and very inexpensive collection of historical maps may be found in Putzger's cheap and unassuming Historical School Atlas.[4] This is in many ways as useful as Droysen, and in some respects actually superior to the more elaborate work.

While but few of the aids to historical research are here given, those mentioned are of the utmost importance by reason of the range and accuracy of the information which they furnish and of the ease with which they can be consulted. No really advanced work in history can be carried on without their aid. Many other useful works of the same class may be found in the lists given by Bernheim in the manual spoken of above.

[1] *Manuel de diplomatique*, Paris, 1894, 20 fr.

[2] *Allgemeiner historischer Handatlas*, mit erläuterndem Text, Leipzig, M. 25.

[3] *Atlas de géographie historique*, sous la direction de F. Schrader, Paris, Hachette, 35 fr.

The only really adequate atlas in English is the *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, edited by R. L. Poole (Clarendon Press, $38.50), which is unfortunately far more expensive than the equally satisfactory German and French works of the same class.

[4] Putzger's *Historischer Schul-Atlas*, edited by Baldamus and Schwabe. An American edition of this may be had, accompanied by an English translation of the German forms of the geographical names, New York, Lemcke and Büchner, $1.00. A new school *Atlas of European History*, edited by Professor Dow, is announced by Henry Holt.

CHAPTER II

WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS

I. Some Resemblances between Thoughtful Paganism and Christianity

The philosopher and statesman, Seneca (d. A.D. 65), who lived in the time of Nero, in his little book on *Benefits* speaks thus of the bounty of God:

1. Seneca on God's gifts to man.

Doth not God bestow all benefits upon us? From whence then hast thou all those things whereof thou art possessed? which thou givest? which thou deniest? which thou keepest? which thou takest unjustly? From whence come the infiniteness of things that delight the eye, affect the ear, and please the understanding? . . . From whence have we so many trees, bearing sundry sorts of savory fruit, so many wholesome herbs, for the maintenance of our health, such variety of meats, strong for all seasons through the whole year, so that an idle sluggard may pick up without effort sufficient sustenance upon the earth to feed and nourish him? . . .

If a man should give thee money, and fill thy coffer (for that seemeth a great thing in thy sight) thou wouldst term it a benefit. And thinkest thou it no favor, that God hath hidden so many metals in the earth, spread so many rivers on the sands, which floating, discover ingots of massy gold, silver, brass, and iron, which he hath hidden everywhere; that he hath given thee means and knowledge to find it out, by setting marks of his covert riches on the upper face of the earth? If a man should give thee a house enriched with marble pillars, if the cover thereof were resplendent, and painted with gold and goodly colors, thou

wouldst highly esteem this present of his: God hath builded thee a great palace, without any danger or fear of falling down, wherein thou seest not little pieces, smaller than the chisel itself wherewith they were carved, but entire huge masses of precious stone, all fastened and fashioned after divers manners, the least piece whereof maketh thee wonder at the beauty of the same: the roof whereof shineth after one sort by day and after another by night: and wilt thou then deny that thou hast received any benefit at all? . . .

It is Nature, saith one, that communicateth and giveth me all these things. But understandest thou not that in speaking after this manner, thou only changest the name of God? For what else is Nature but God, a divine being and reason, which by his searching assistance resideth in the world, and all the parts thereof? . . .

Seneca on unselfish giving.

To bestow a favor in hope to receive another, is a contemptible and base usury. How badly soever thy former favors have fallen out, yet persevere thou in bestowing others. They are best hoarded in the hands of the ungrateful, whom either shame, or occasion, or imitation, may at length fashion to be grateful. Persevere continually, and cease not to be bountiful: accomplish that good work which thou hast begun, and perform the duty of a good man. Relieve this man with thy goods, another with thy credit; that man by thy favor, this with thy good counsels and wholesome precepts.

2. Epictetus.

Some idea of the resemblance between the beliefs of the Stoics and those of the Christians may be obtained from the teachings of Epictetus, a slave who for many years belonged to a member of Nero's household. By some whim of his master's, Epictetus was given a good education, and after his master's death he taught philosophy at Rome. He himself wrote nothing, but a devoted pupil of his — Arrian — has left us a conscientious account of his teachings, which represent the most elevated form of stoicism.

The attitude of the Stoic towards the evils of life is clearly expressed in the following passage:

Attitude of the Stoics toward the evils of life.

When you are going in to any great personage, remember that another also from above sees what is going on, and that you ought to please him above all others. He then who sees from above asks you: In the schools what used you to say about exile, and bonds, and death, and disgrace? I used to say that they are things indifferent (neither good nor bad). What then do you say of them now? Are they changed at all? No. Are you changed then? No. Tell me then what things are indifferent? The things which are independent of the will. Tell me, also, what follows from this. The things which are independent of the will are nothing to me. Tell me also about the Good; what did you hold it to be? A will such as we ought to have and also a right use of things about us. And our aim, what is it? To follow thee. Do you say this now also? I say the same now also.

Then go in to the great personage boldly and remember these things; and you will see what a youth is who has studied these things when he is among men who have not studied them. . . .

Like the Christians, Epictetus held that all men were brothers, for all were God's children.

If the things are true which are said by the philosophers about the kinship between God and man, what else remains for men to do than what Socrates did? Never say, in reply to the question, To what country do you belong? that you are an Athenian, or a Corinthian, but that you are a citizen of the world. . . . He who has observed with intelligence the administration of the world, and has learned that the greatest and the supreme and the most comprehensive community is that which is composed of men and God, . . . why should not such a man call himself a citizen of the world, why not a son of God, and why should he be afraid of anything which happens among men? Is kinship with the emperor or with any other of the powerful in Rome sufficient to enable us to live in safety, and above contempt and without any fear at all? But to have God for your maker, and father, and guardian, shall not this release us from our sorrows and fears?

3. The *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius.

The *Thoughts* of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, a collection of notes which he made for his own private use, is one of the most famous and stimulating books which Roman writers have handed down to us. It is easily obtainable and every one should possess a copy. A single extract will serve to illustrate its character:

> Begin the morning by saying to thyself, I shall meet with the busybody, the ungrateful, arrogant, deceitful, envious, unsocial. These are so by reason of their ignorance of what is good and evil. But I who have seen the nature of the good, that it is beautiful, and of the bad, that it is ugly, and the nature of him who does wrong, that he is akin to me, not only of the same blood and origin, but that he participates in the same intelligence and the same portion of the divinity, I can neither be injured by any of those I meet, for no one can fix on me what is ugly, nor can I be angry with my kinsman, nor hate him. For we are made for coöperation, like feet, like hands, like eyelids, like the rows of the upper and lower teeth. To act against one another then is contrary to nature; and it is acting against one another to be vexed and to turn away. . . .
>
> If thou workest at that which is before thee, following right reason seriously, vigorously, calmly, without allowing anything else to distract thee, but keeping thy divine part pure, as if thou shouldest be bound to give it back immediately; if thou holdest to this, expecting nothing, fearing nothing, but satisfied with thy present activity according to nature, and with heroic truth in every word and sound which thou utterest, thou wilt live happy. And there is no man who is able to prevent this.

It should not be forgotten, however, that there were a great many fundamental differences between the pagan religions and Christianity. These have been admirably stated by Mr. Lecky in his well-known *History of European Morals*.

4. Important contrasts between Christianity and the pagan religions.

The chief objects of Pagan religions were to foretell the future, to explain the universe, to avert calamity, to obtain the assistance of the gods. They contained no instruments of moral teaching analogous to our institution of preaching, or to the moral preparation for the reception of the sacrament, or to confession, or to the reading of the Bible, or to religious education, or to united prayer for spiritual benefits. To make men virtuous was no more the function of the priest than of the physician. On the other hand, the philosophic expositions of duty [such as those given above] were wholly unconnected with the religious ceremonies of the temple.

The high moral teachings of the philosophers, like Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, had doubtless been brought to the attention of a considerable number of educated people through the discussions of the rhetoricians. Some sects, like the Pythagoreans, recommended religious ceremonies for the purpose of purifying the mind, and among the Oriental religions (such as the worship of Mithras), which were introduced at Rome under the Empire, certain rites were to be found which closely resembled those of the Christians.

Moral teaching the duty of the Christian priest.

But it was the distinguishing characteristic of Christianity that its moral influence was not indirect, casual, remote, or spasmodic. Unlike all Pagan religions, it made moral teaching a main function of its clergy, moral discipline the leading object of its services, moral dispositions the necessary condition of the due performance of its rites. By the pulpit, by its ceremonies, by all the agencies of power it possessed, it laboured systematically and perseveringly for the regeneration of mankind. Under its influence, doctrines concerning the nature of God, the immortality of the soul, and the duties of man, which the noblest intellects of antiquity could barely grasp, have become the truisms of the village school, the proverbs of the cottage and of the alley.

II. The Early Conception of a Catholic (i.e. Universal) Church

It was not unnatural that differences of opinion should develop among the early Christians in regard to particular religious beliefs and practices. This led to the formation of sects similar to the various denominations which exist in Protestant lands to-day. This want of agreement seemed a terrible thing to those who felt that there could be but one true faith handed down from Christ through the apostles, and consequently one Catholic or Universal Church outside of which there could be no salvation. They accordingly denounced all who departed from the generally accepted (i.e. orthodox) beliefs as heretics who were destroying the unity of the Church by their perversity.

This conception of one all-embracing Church to which all should be forced to belong was accepted by the Roman emperors after Constantine, and prevailed all through the Middle Ages. It was earlier clearly set forth by Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who died in 258.[1]

5. The Catholic or Universal Church as conceived by Cyprian in his *Unity of the Church.*

The old enemy of mankind was vanquished and overcome at the advent of Christ's kingdom. He saw his idols forsaken and his fanes and temples deserted for the altars of Christ; so he devised new wiles by which he might deceive the unwary Christian under the very name of Christianity itself. He invented heresies and schisms; and by these he hath overthrown the faith, corrupted the truth, and broken the unity of the Church. Those whom he cannot keep back in the darkness of the old way, he entraps and deceives by error in the new path. He snatches men from the Church

[1] A description of the martyrdom of Cyprian, who was beheaded during a persecution of the Christians, may be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 1.

herself; and while they think they have now drawn near to the light and have escaped the night of heathenism, he casts over them in their ignorance yet other shades, so that they call themselves Christians, and yet do not abide in the Gospel and the precepts and the law of Christ. They think they have the light, and yet walk in the darkness. . . .

Our Lord said to Peter: "I also say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." He thus erected his Church upon *one* [foundation].[1] And though after his resurrection he gave equal powers to all the apostles, saying, "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. . . . Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained," nevertheless, that he might manifest unity he established one Church, and by his own authority determined that in its origin this unity should proceed from *one* [source or person]. . . .

He who holds not this unity of the Church, does he believe that he holds the faith? He who struggles against the Church and resists her, does he believe that he is a member of the Church? . . . The episcopate is one: it is shared among individuals, yet each possesses the entire authority.[2] The Church also is one, though she is widely extended among the multitude. As there are many rays of the sun, but one light; and many branches of a tree, but one strength lying in its tenacious root; and since from one spring flow many streams, yet the unity is preserved in the source. Separate a ray of the sun from its body of light, its unity does not permit a division of the light; break a branch from the tree, when broken it will not be able to bud; cut off the stream from its fountain, and that which is cut off dries up.

[1] Super unum aedificat ecclesiam.

[2] Episcopatus unus est, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.

Thus the Church sheds forth her rays over the whole world; yet it is one light which is everywhere diffused. . . .

Denunciation of the heretics.

Whoever is separated from the Church is separated from the promises of the Church; nor can he who forsakes the Church of Christ attain to the rewards of Christ. He is a stranger; he is profane; he is an enemy. He can no longer have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother. If any one could escape who was outside the ark of Noah, then he also may escape who shall be outside of the Church. . . . These heretics appoint themselves prelates without proper ordination, and assume the name of bishops, although no one gives them the episcopate. . . . They sit in the seat of pestilence, are plagues and spots of the faith, deceiving with serpent's tongue and artful in corrupting the truth, vomiting forth deadly poisons from pestilential tongues; whose speech doth creep like a cancer, whose discourse forms a deadly poison in the heart and breast of every one. . . .

Though such a man should suffer death for confessing the name of Christ, his guilt is not washed away by blood, nor is the grievous and inexpiable sin of discord wiped out by suffering. He who is without the Church cannot be a martyr. He cannot reach the kingdom of heaven. . . . Though they are given over to the flames and burn in the fires; though cast to the wild beasts, they lay down their lives, this shall not be a crown of faith, but a punishment of faithlessness. Such a man may be killed, but not crowned. . . .

III. The Church and the Roman Emperors

6. Edict of Galerius (311), which first granted toleration to the Christians.

In spite of the fact that the Roman emperors permitted the greatest variety of worship within their vast realm and showed no disposition to compel their subjects to think alike upon religious matters, they viewed Christianity with the most cruel suspicion almost from its first appearance. Christians were assumed to be

hostile to the government, and were consequently treated with the utmost harshness. Even the wisest and best emperors, such as Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, ordered that any one should be condemned to death who was convicted of bearing the name of Christian.[1]

Christians were first put upon a legal footing with adherents of the various pagan religions by Emperor Galerius in the year 311.[2] His edict reads as follows:

Amongst our other measures for the advantage of the Empire, we have hitherto endeavored to bring all things into conformity with the ancient laws and public order of the Romans. We have been especially anxious that even the Christians, who have abandoned the religion of their ancestors, should return to reason. For they have fallen, we know not how, into such perversity and folly that, instead of adhering to those ancient institutions which possibly their own forefathers established, they have arbitrarily made laws of their own and collected together various peoples from various quarters.

After the publication, on our part, of an order commanding the Christians to return to the observance of the ancient customs, many of them, it is true, submitted in view of the danger, while many others suffered death. Nevertheless, since many of them have continued to persist in their opinions and we see that in the present situation they neither

[1] Christians were not, however, to be sought out by the government officials and could only be tried when accusation was brought against them by some definite person. A series of extracts illustrating the extent and character of the early persecutions of the Christians is to be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 1.

[2] A German scholar, Seeck, has pretty conclusively shown that the so-called Edict of Milan, by which Constantine was long supposed to have rescued the Christians from persecution, was not really an edict at all, but a letter addressed by Constantine's colleague, Licinius, to some government official in the East, commanding him to see that the edict of Galerius was carried out in a thorough manner. See *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XII, pp. 381 *sqq*.

duly adore and venerate the gods nor yet worship the god of the Christians, we, with our wonted clemency, have judged it wise to extend a pardon even to these men and permit them once more to become Christians and reëstablish their places of meeting; in such manner, however, that they shall in no way offend against good order. We propose to notify the magistrates in another mandate in regard to the course that they should pursue.

Wherefore it should be the duty of the Christians, in view of our clemency, to pray to their god for our welfare, for that of the Empire, and for their own, so that the Empire may remain intact in all its parts, and that they themselves may live safely in their habitations.

7. The edicts of Constantine and his successors relating to the Church in the Theodosian Code.

When under Theodosius II a collection of the laws of the Roman Empire was published (438), the edicts which had been issued by Constantine and the succeeding emperors in regard to the Christian religion, — the privileges of the clergy, the status of heretics, etc., — were conveniently brought together in the last book of the new code. The very first title, *On the Catholic Faith,* makes it clear that the government would tolerate no one who disagreed with the particular form of Christian belief which the state chose to sanction.

The Roman government orders every one to accept the view of the Trinity defined by the Council of Nicæa.

We desire that all those who are under the sway of our clemency shall adhere to that religion which, according to his own testimony, coming down even to our own day, the blessed apostle Peter delivered to the Romans, namely, the doctrine which the pontiff Damasus [bishop of Rome] and Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic sanctity, accept. According to the teachings of the apostles and of the Gospel we believe in one Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the blessed Trinity, alike in majesty.

We ordain that the name of Catholic Christians shall apply to all those who obey this present law. All others we judge to be mad and demented; we declare them guilty of the

infamy of holding heretical doctrine; their assemblies shall not receive the name of churches. They shall first suffer the wrath of God, then the punishment which in accordance with divine judgment we shall inflict [A.D. 380].

The emperors showed themselves ready to exempt the orthodox clergy from the various taxes and other public burdens imposed by the state, but upon condition that only poor men should become clerics. No decurion, that is to say one who was rich enough to assume the heavy responsibilities which the government threw upon the wealthier class in the cities, might join the clergy.

The clergy to be exempted from public burdens; but only the poor in this world's goods to be admitted to the clergy.

Those who exercise the functions of divine worship, that is to say those who are called clerics [*clerici*], shall be exempt from all public burdens, lest otherwise they might be called away from their sacred duties through some one's malicious interference [A.D. 319].

Immunity from public burdens is to be granted neither by custom nor upon any one's plea that he is a clergyman; nor may persons join the order of the clergy easily or in too great numbers. But when a cleric dies another shall be chosen in his stead. He shall not be of decurion rank by descent, nor possess sufficient means easily to bear the public burdens. Should doubt arise between a city and the clergy in regard to any candidate, if justice indicates that he should bear the public burdens and he should appear, either by descent or owing to his patrimony, to be suitable for the rank of decurion, he shall leave the clergy and be turned over to the city. For it is proper that the rich should bear the burdens of the world and that the poor should be supported by the wealth of the Church [A.D. 326].

The government would have the clergy a poor, hereditary class.

From public burdens and from every disquietude of civil office all clerics shall be free, and their sons shall continue in the Church if they are not subject to public responsibilities [A.D. 349].

Exemption from personal taxation.

We decree that all priests, deacons, subdeacons, exorcists, lectors, and doorkeepers, likewise all who are in higher orders, shall be free from personal taxes[1] [A.D. 377].

The power of the empire maintained by the clergy.

In every city, in every town, hamlet, and burg, whoever, according to the spirit of the Christian law, shall have sincerely striven to bring home to all its supreme and peculiar merits shall enjoy permanent protection. We should rejoice and be exceeding glad in the faith, knowing that our empire is maintained more by religion than by officials or by the labor and sweat of the body [A.D. 361].

Christians not to be forced to observe heathen rites

Inasmuch as we have learned that certain clergymen and others who minister to the Catholic faith have been compelled by men of other religions to celebrate the lustral sacrifices, we hereby ordain that, should any one maintain that those who keep the most holy law should be forced to observe the rites of another's superstition, such an one shall, if his station permits, be beaten with rods. If his rank forbid this punishment, he shall be condemned to a heavy fine which shall fall to the state [A.D. 323].

Bequests to the Church.

Every one shall have the right, when he is dying, to leave so much of his goods as he will to the holy and Catholic Church . . . [A.D. 321].

Judicial privileges of the clergy.

It is right that clerics, whether they be bishops, priests, deacons, or those of lower rank, ministers of the Christian law, should be accused only before a bishop — unless there is some reason why the case should be considered elsewhere [A.D. 412].

Minor civil cases and those where church rites were involved were also to be tried by ecclesiastics. These provisions were the beginning of benefit of clergy and of the vast jurisdiction of the mediæval Church.

[1] Church lands were, however, by no means to be exempted from the land tax, nor were the clergy to engage in trade on any considerable scale without paying the tax to which lay tradesmen were subject.

None but the orthodox clergy to enjoy privileges.

Privileges which are granted on religious grounds should be confined to those who observe the law. We will that heretics and schismatics should not only be excluded from such privileges, but that they should be subject to various burdens [A.D. 326].

Manichæans to be prosecuted.

Whenever an assembly of Manichæans[1] is discovered, let their teachers be heavily fined. Those who are in attendance should be cast out from among their fellow-men as infamous and discredited. The houses or dwelling places in which their profane doctrines are taught should be confiscated by the government [A.D. 372].

Clerics adhering to the Eunomian or Montanist superstition shall be excluded from all intercourse with any city or town. Should any of these heretics sojourning in the country attempt to gather the people together or collect an assembly, let them be sent into perpetual exile. . . .

Heretical books to be sought out and burned.

We command that their books, which contain the substance of their criminal teachings, be sought out with the utmost care and burnt with fire under the eyes of the magistrates. Should any one perchance be convicted of concealing, through deceit or otherwise, and of failing to produce, any work of this kind, let him know that as the possessor of harmful books written with criminal intent he shall suffer capital punishment [A.D. 398].

Various disabilities of the heretics.

Here we find the same spirit of active and cruel religious intolerance which appears in the mediæval laws, notably the thirteenth century. Other edicts provide that certain heretics — e.g. the Manichæans — should lose the right to bequeath and inherit property. Illegal bequests of heretics were to revert to the public treasury. Heretics were to be heavily fined, and in some cases were excluded from the army. Slaves might be

[1] This Manichæan heresy was revived in the later Middle Ages. See the account of the Albigenses in *History of Western Europe*, p. 221.

beaten into the orthodox faith. One edict (407) deprives convicted Manichæans of the right of buying, selling, or entering into any contract, on the ground that "this kind of man has nothing in common with other men, either in customs or laws." Even the dead, if they be proved to have been tainted with Manichæan heresy, are to have their wills invalidated. In 409 the following edict was issued:

Laws against heretics to be carefully enforced.

> Lest the Donatists and other deluded heretics and those who, like the Jews and the Gentiles (commonly called "pagans"), cannot be brought into the communion of the Catholic religion, should conclude that the force of the laws formerly directed against them had declined, let all the magistrates take note that those provisions of the law are to be faithfully observed, and that they should not hesitate to enforce all that we have decreed against the heretics.

Provisions of the code in regard to pagans.

A later title of the Theodosian Code is devoted to "pagans, sacrifices, and temples." The temples were first ordered to be destroyed in the towns, later in the country. Heavy fines were to be inflicted upon those who dared to offer sacrifices to the old heathen gods. Pagans were excluded by law from judicial and administrative offices, although it seems impossible that this measure could have been strictly carried out. In 423 we find a law declaring that, although pagans deserved to suffer capital punishment, they were required only to surrender their property to the government and go into exile. It is noteworthy, however, that far less attention is given to the pagans than to the Manichæans and the various Christian sects, like the Arians, Montanists, Donatists, and others, who ventured to differ from the theological opinions sanctioned by the government.

IV. Comparison between the Lot of those within the Empire and those who lived among Barbarians

It was inevitable that thoughtful observers should be struck with the contrast between the habits and government of the Romans and the customs of the various barbarian peoples. Tacitus, the first to describe the manners and institutions of the Germans with care, is frequently tempted to compare them with those of the Empire, often to the obvious disadvantage of the latter.[1] We have two other notable comparisons of a much later date: the first by a fervid Christian, the other by a judicious writer, who was probably a pagan.

8. Salvian's comparison of the Romans with the barbarians (*ca.* 440).

Salvian, a Christian priest, writing about 440, undertook in his book *Of God's Government* to show that the misfortunes of the time were only the divinely inflicted punishments which the people of the Empire had brought upon themselves by their wickedness and corruption. He contends that the Romans, who had once been virtuous and heroic, had lapsed into a degradation which rendered them, in spite of their civilization and advantages, far inferior to the untutored but sturdy barbarians.

In what respects can our customs be preferred to those of the Goths and Vandals, or even compared with them? And first, to speak of affection and mutual charity (which, our Lord teaches, is the chief virtue, saying, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another"), almost all barbarians, at least those who are of one race and kin, love each other, while the Romans persecute each other. For what citizen does not envy his fellow-citizen? What citizen shows to his neighbor full charity?

[1] The very important little work of Tacitus on Germany, the *Germania*, has been published in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. VI, No. 3.

[The Romans oppress each other with exactions] nay, not each other: it would be quite tolerable, if each suffered what he inflicted. It is worse than that; for the many are oppressed by the few, who regard public exactions as their own peculiar right, who carry on private traffic under the guise of collecting the taxes. And this is done not only by nobles, but by men of lowest rank; not by judges only, but by judges' subordinates. For where is the city — even the town or village — which has not as many tyrants as it has curials? . . . What place is there, therefore, as I have said, where the substance of widows and orphans, nay even of the saints, is not devoured by the chief citizens? . . . None but the great is secure from the devastations of these plundering brigands, except those who are themselves robbers.

Why Roman subjects prefer to live among the barbarians.

[Nay, the state has fallen upon such evil days that a man cannot be safe unless he is wicked] Even those in a position to protest against the iniquity which they see about them dare not speak lest they make matters worse than before. So the poor are despoiled, the widows sigh, the orphans are oppressed, until many of them, born of families not obscure, and liberally educated, flee to our enemies that they may no longer suffer the oppression of public persecution. They doubtless seek Roman humanity among the barbarians, because they cannot bear barbarian inhumanity among the Romans. And although they differ from the people to whom they flee in manner and in language; although they are unlike as regards the fetid odor of the barbarians' bodies and garments, yet they would rather endure a foreign civilization among the barbarians than cruel injustice among the Romans.

So they migrate to the Goths, or to the Bagaudes, or to some other tribe of the barbarians who are ruling everywhere, and do not regret their exile. For they would rather live *free* under an appearance of slavery than live as captives under an appearance of liberty. The name of Roman citizen, once so highly esteemed and so dearly bought, is now a thing that men repudiate and flee from. . . .

It is urged that if we Romans are wicked and corrupt, that the barbarians commit the same sins, and are not so miserable as we. There is, however, this difference, that if the barbarians commit the same crimes as we, yet we sin more grievously. . . . All the barbarians, as we have already said, are pagans or heretics. The Saxon race is cruel, the Franks are faithless, the Gepidae are inhuman, the Huns are unchaste, — in short, there is vice in the life of all the barbarian peoples. But are their offenses as serious as ours? Is the unchastity of the Hun so criminal as ours? Is the faithlessness of the Frank so blameworthy as ours? Is the intemperance of the Alemanni so base as the intemperance of the Christians? Does the greed of the Alani so merit condemnation as the greed of the Christians? If the Hun or the Gepid cheat, what is there to wonder at, since he does not know that cheating is a crime? If a Frank perjures himself, does he do anything strange, he who regards perjury as a way of speaking, not as a crime?

9. Conversation of Priscus with a Greek living among the barbarians (448).

About the time that Salvian was writing, the imperial government at Constantinople dispatched an embassy to Attila, the king of the Huns. One of the imperial messengers, Priscus, has left a very interesting account of his experiences. He tells, among other things, of a conversation that he had with a former inhabitant of the Roman Empire who declared that life among the barbarians had many advantages. As Priscus was waiting for his audience with Attila, he says:

A man whom, from his Scythian dress, I took for a barbarian, came up and addressed me in Greek, with the word "Hail!" I was surprised at a Scythian[1] speaking Greek. For the subjects of the Huns, swept together from various lands, speak, beside their own barbarous tongue, either Hunnic or Gothic, or — as many as have commercial dealings

[1] Priscus seems to use this term "Scythian" as almost synonymous with barbarian.

with the western Romans — Latin; but none of them speak Greek readily, except captives from the Thracian or Illyrian seacoast; and these last are easily known to any stranger by their torn garments and the squalor of their head, as men who have met with a reverse. This man, on the contrary, resembled a well-to-do Scythian, being well dressed, and having his hair cut in a circle after Scythian fashion.

Having returned his salutation, I asked him who he was and whence he had come into a foreign land and adopted Scythian life. When he asked me why I wanted to know, I told him that his Hellenic speech had prompted my curiosity. Then he smiled and said that he was born a Greek and had gone as a merchant to Viminacium, on the Danube, where he had stayed a long time, and married a very rich wife. But the city fell a prey to the barbarians, and he was stripped of his prosperity, and on account of his riches was allotted to Onegesius [a Hunnish leader] in the division of the spoil, as it was the custom among the Scythians for the chiefs to reserve for themselves the rich prisoners. Having fought bravely against the Romans and the Acatiri, he had paid the spoils he won to his master, and so obtained freedom. He then married a barbarian wife and had children, and had the privilege of partaking at the table of Onegesius.

Advantages of living among the barbarians.

He considered his new life among the Scythians better than his old life among the Romans, and the reasons he urged were as follows: "After war the Scythians live at leisure, enjoying what they have got, and not at all, or very little, disturbed. The Romans, on the other hand, are in the first place very liable to be killed, if there are any hostilities, since they have to rest their hopes of protection on others, and are not allowed, by their tyrants, to use arms. And those who do use them are injured by the cowardice of their generals, who cannot properly conduct war.

"But the condition of Roman subjects in time of peace is far more grievous than the evils of war, for the exaction of the taxes is very severe, and unprincipled men inflict injuries on others because the laws are practically not valid against all classes. A transgressor who belongs to the wealthy

classes is not punished for his injustice, while a poor man, who does not understand business, undergoes the legal penalty, — that is, if he does not depart this life before the trial, so long is the course of lawsuits protracted, and so much money is expended on them. The climax of misery is to have to pay in order to obtain justice. For no one will give a hearing to the injured man except he pay a sum of money to the judge and the judge's clerks."

Priscus defends the Roman government.

In reply to this attack on the empire, I asked him to be good enough to listen with patience to the other side of the question. "The creators of the Roman Republic," I said, "who were wise and good men, in order to prevent things from being done at haphazard, made one class of men guardians of the laws, and appointed another class to the profession of arms, who were to have no other object than to be always ready for battle, and to go forth to war without dread, as though to their ordinary exercise, having by practice exhausted all their fear beforehand. Others again were assigned to attend to the cultivation of the ground, to support themselves and those who fight in their defense by contributing the military corn supply. . . . To those who protect the interests of the litigants a sum of money is paid by the latter, just as a payment is made by the farmers to the soldiers. Is it not fair to support him who assists and requite him for his kindness? . . .

"Those who spend money on a suit and lose it in the end cannot fairly put it down to anything but the injustice of their case. And as to the long time spent on lawsuits, that is due to anxiety for justice, that judges may not fail in passing accurate judgments by having to give sentence offhand; it is better that they should reflect, and conclude the case more tardily, than that by judging in a hurry they should both injure man and transgress against the Deity, the institutor of justice. . . .

"The Romans treat their slaves better than the king of the Scythians treats his subjects. They deal with them as fathers or teachers, admonishing them to abstain from evil and follow the lines of conduct which they have esteemed

honorable; they reprove them for their errors like their own children. They are not allowed, like the Scythians, to inflict death on their slaves. They have numerous ways of conferring freedom; they can manumit not only during life, but also by their wills, and the testamentary wishes of a Roman in regard to his property are law."

My interlocutor shed tears, and confessed that the laws and constitution of the Romans were fair, but deplored that the officials, not possessing the spirit of former generations, were ruining the state.

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CHAPTER III

THE GERMAN INVASIONS AND THE BREAK-UP OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

I. The Movements of the Huns force the West Goths across the Danube into the Roman Empire, A.D. 376

The retired soldier, Ammianus Marcellinus, writing not more than ten or fifteen years after the battle of Adrianople, thus describes the Huns and the passage of the Goths into the Empire.

10. Description by Ammianus Marcellinus of the Huns and of the movements of the Goths

The people called Huns, barely mentioned in ancient records, live beyond the sea of Azof, on the border of the Frozen Ocean, and are a race savage beyond all parallel. At the very moment of birth the cheeks of their infant children are deeply marked by an iron, in order that the hair, instead of growing at the proper season on their faces, may be hindered by the scars; accordingly the Huns grow up without beards, and without any beauty. They all have closely knit and strong limbs and plump necks; they are of great size, and low legged, so that you might fancy them two-legged beasts, or the stout figures which are hewn out in a rude manner with an ax on the posts at the end of bridges.

They are certainly in the shape of men, however uncouth, and are so hardy that they neither require fire nor well flavored food, but live on the roots of such herbs as they get in the fields, or on the half-raw flesh of any animal, which they merely warm rapidly by placing it between their own thighs and the backs of their horses.

They never shelter themselves under roofed houses, but avoid them, as people ordinarily avoid sepulchers as things

not fit for common use. Nor is there even to be found among them a cabin thatched with reeds; but they wander about, roaming over the mountains and the woods, and accustom themselves to bear frost and hunger and thirst from their very cradles. . . .

There is not a person in the whole nation who cannot remain on his horse day and night. On horseback they buy and sell, they take their meat and drink, and there they recline on the narrow neck of their steed, and yield to sleep so deep as to indulge in every variety of dream.

And when any deliberation is to take place on any weighty matter, they all hold their common council on horseback. They are not under kingly authority,[1] but are contented with the irregular government of their chiefs, and under their lead they force their way through all obstacles. . . .

None of them plow, or even touch a plow handle, for they have no settled abode, but are homeless and lawless, perpetually wandering with their wagons, which they make their homes; in fact, they seem to be people always in flight. . . .

This active and indomitable race, being excited by an unrestrained desire of plundering the possessions of others, went on ravaging and slaughtering all the nations in their neighborhood till they reached the Alani. . . .

The Goths decide to cross the Danube.

[After having harassed the territory of the Alani and having slain many of them and acquired much plunder, the Huns made a treaty of friendship and alliance with those who survived. The allies then attacked the German peoples to the west.] In the meantime a report spread far and wide through the nations of the Goths, that a race of men, hitherto unknown, had suddenly descended like a whirlwind from the lofty mountains, as if they had risen from some secret recess of the earth, and were ravaging and destroying everything which came in their way.

And then the greater part of the population resolved to flee and to seek a home remote from all knowledge of the new

[1] The Huns in Attila's time had a king and appear to have lived in houses and huts. See account given by Priscus below, pp. 46 *sqq*.

barbarians; and after long deliberation as to where to fix their abode, they resolved that a retreat into Thrace was the most suitable for these two reasons: first of all, because it is a district most fertile in grass; and secondly, because, owing to the great breadth of the Danube, it is wholly separated from the districts exposed to the impending attacks of the invaders.

Accordingly, under the command of their leader Alavivus, they occupied the banks of the Danube, and sent ambassadors to the emperor Valens, humbly entreating to be received by him as his subjects. They promised to live quietly, and to furnish a body of auxiliary troops if necessary.

News of the movements of the Goths reaches the Roman government.

While these events were taking place abroad, the terrifying rumor reached us that the tribes of the north were planning new and unprecedented attacks upon us; and that over the whole region which extends from the country of the Marcomanni and Quadi to Pontus, hosts of barbarians composed of various nations, which had suddenly been driven by force from their own countries, were now, with all their families, wandering about in different directions on the banks of the river Danube.

At first this intelligence was lightly treated by our people, because they were not in the habit of hearing of any wars in those remote districts till they were terminated either by victory or by treaty.

But presently the belief in these occurrences grew stronger and was confirmed by the arrival of ambassadors, who, with prayers and earnest entreaties, begged that their people, thus driven from their homes and now encamped on the other side of the river, might be kindly received by us.

The affair now seemed a cause of joy rather than of fear, according to the skillful flatterers who were always extolling and exaggerating the good fortune of the emperor. They congratulated him that an embassy had come from the farthest corners of the earth, unexpectedly offering him a large body of recruits; and that, by combining the strength of his own people with these foreign forces, he would have an army absolutely invincible. They observed further that the

payment for military reënforcements, which came in every year from the provinces, might now be saved and accumulated in his coffers and form a vast treasure of gold.

With Valens' permission great numbers of Goths pour into the Empire.

Full of this hope, he sent forth several officers to bring this ferocious people and their carts into our territory. And such great pains were taken to gratify this nation which was destined to overthrow the Empire of Rome, that not one was left behind, not even of those who were stricken with mortal disease. Moreover, so soon as they had obtained permission of the emperor to cross the Danube and to cultivate some districts in Thrace, they poured across the stream day and night, without ceasing, embarking in troops on board ships and rafts and on canoes made of the hollow trunks of trees. . . .

In this way, through the turbulent zeal of violent people, the ruin of the Roman Empire was brought about. This, at all events, is neither obscure nor uncertain, that the unhappy officers who were intrusted with the charge of conducting the multitude of the barbarians across the river, though they repeatedly endeavored to calculate their numbers, at last abandoned the attempt as hopeless. The man who would wish to ascertain the number might as well (as the most illustrious of poets says) attempt to count the waves in the African sea, or the grains of sand tossed about by the zephyrs. . . .

The Goths are misused by the Roman officials.

At that period, moreover, the defenses of our provinces were much exposed, and the armies of barbarians spread over them like the lava of Mount Etna. The imminence of our danger manifestly called for generals already illustrious for their past achievements in war; but nevertheless, as if some unpropitious deity had made the selection, the men who were sought out for the chief military appointments were of tainted character. The chief among them were Lupicinus and Maximus, — the one being count of Thrace, the other a leader notoriously wicked, — both men of great ignorance and rashness.

And their treacherous covetousness was the cause of all our disasters. . . . For when the barbarians who had been

conducted across the river were in great distress from want of provisions, those detested generals conceived the idea of a most disgraceful traffic; and having collected dogs from all quarters with the most insatiable rapacity, they exchanged them for an equal number of slaves, among whom were several sons of men of noble birth. . . .

After narrating the events which led up to the battle of Adrianople, and vividly describing the battle itself, Ammianus thus records the death of the emperor Valens:

Battle of Adrianople and death of Valens.

So now, with rage flashing in their eyes, the barbarians pursued our men, who were in a state of torpor, the warmth of their veins having deserted them. Many were slain without knowing who smote them; some were overwhelmed by the mere weight of the crowd which pressed upon them; and some died of wounds inflicted by their own comrades. The barbarians spared neither those who yielded nor those who resisted. . . .

Just when it first became dark, the emperor, being among a crowd of common soldiers as it was believed, — for no one said either that he had seen him or been near him, — was mortally wounded with an arrow, and, very shortly after, died, though his body was never found. For as some of the enemy loitered for a long time about the field in order to plunder the dead, none of the defeated army or of the inhabitants ventured to go to them.

II. How the West Goths became Arian Christians; how Alaric took Rome in 410

11. Jordanes describes the conversion of the Goths to Arian Christianity.

The following account is by Jordanes, himself a Goth, but unlike most of his people not an Arian, but an orthodox Christian. He wrote about 551, nearly a century and a half after the events which he here narrates:

The West Goths [terrified by the victories of the Huns over the East Goths] requested Emperor Valens to grant

them a portion of Thrace or Moesia south of the Danube in which to settle. They promised to obey his laws and commands and, in order still further to gain his confidence, they engaged to become Christians if only the emperor would send to them teachers who knew their language. When Valens heard this he readily agreed to a plan which he might himself have proposed. He received the Goths into Moesia and erected them, so to speak, into a sort of rampart to protect his empire against the other tribes.

Now, since Valens was infected with the heresy of the Arians and had closed all the churches which belonged to our party [i.e. the orthodox], he sent the Goths preachers of his own infection. These missionaries poured out for the newcomers, who were inexperienced and ignorant, the poison of their own false faith. So the West Goths were made Arians rather than Christians by Emperor Valens. Moreover, in their enthusiasm they converted their kinsmen, the East Goths and the Gepidae, and taught them to respect this heresy. They invited all nations of their own tongue everywhere to adopt the creed of this sect.

Jordanes' account of the death of Valens.

We have seen how, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, the forces of the emperor maltreated the poor Goths and drove them to revolt.

When news of this reached the emperor Valens at Antioch, he hastened with an army into Thrace. Here it came to a miserable battle in which the Goths conquered. The emperor fled to a peasant's hut not far from Adrianople. The Goths, according to the custom of the raging enemy, set fire to the buildings, having no idea that there was an emperor hidden in the little hut, and so he was consumed in his kingly pomp.[1] This was in accordance with God's

[1] Zosimus, a pagan historian, probably of the fifth century, also reports that Valens perished in a hamlet which had been set on fire by the enemy. Jordanes' tone in speaking of the death of Valens is but one of the many indications of the bitterness of feeling with which the Catholic Christians viewed the Arians.

judgment that he should be burned with fire by them, since when they asked for the true faith he misled them with false teaching and changed for them the fire of love into the fire of hell.

After the great and glorious victory, the West Goths set themselves to cultivate Thrace and the Dacian river valley as if it were their native soil of which they had just gained possession.

[There they remained, hostile to the Empire, and a perpetual menace. Finally Theodosius the Great, the brave and stern, the wise and liberal, ended the war between the Goths and the Romans by a treaty. By his presents and his friendly bearing, he won the friendship of Athanaric, king of the West Goths, and invited him to go to Constantinople.]

The king of the West Goths visits Constantinople.

When the West Goth entered the royal city he was astounded. "Now I see what I have often heard without believing — the glory of this great city." Looking here and there, he admired the site of the city, and the number of ships, and the magnificent walls. He saw people of many nations, like a stream flowing from different sources into one fountain. He marveled at the martial array of the soldiers and exclaimed, "Doubtless the emperor is a god of this earth, and whoever has raised his hand against him is guilty of his own blood."

A few months later, Athanaric, upon whom the emperor heaped his favors, departed from this world, and the emperor, because of his affection for Athanaric, honored him almost more in death than he had done in life, gave him worthy burial, and was himself present beside the bier at the funeral.

After the death of Athanaric, all his army remained in the service of the emperor Theodosius, submitted to the Roman power, and formed, as it were, one body with its soldiers. They resembled the allies whom Constantine had had, who were called *Foederati.*

Alaric leads the West Goths into Italy.

After Theodosius, who cherished both peace and the Gothic people, had departed this life, his sons [Honorius and Arcadius], through their lives of indulgence, began to

bring ruin down upon their empires and withdrew from their allies, the Goths, the accustomed gifts. The Goths soon grew disgusted with the emperors, and since they were fearful lest their bravery in war should decline by too long a period of peace, they made Alaric their king. . . . So, since the said Alaric was chosen king, he took counsel with his fellows and declared to them that it was preferable to conquer a kingdom through one's own force rather than to live in peace under the yoke of strangers.

He thereupon took his army and advanced, during the consulate of Stilicho and Aurelianus, through Pannonia and Sirmium into Italy. This country was so completely deprived of forces that Alaric approached without opposition to the bridge over the Candiano, three miles from the imperial city of Ravenna. . . .

The Goths sent messengers to the emperor Honorius, who was at Ravenna, requesting that they might be permitted to settle quietly in Italy. Should they be allowed to do this, they would live as one people with the Romans; otherwise they would try which people could expel the other, the victor to remain in control. But the emperor Honorius, fearing both suggestions, took counsel with his senate how they might rid Italy of the Goths. He at last concluded to assign the distant provinces of Gaul and Spain to the West Goths.[1] He had, indeed, already nearly lost these districts, for they had been devastated by an incursion of Genseric, king of the Vandals. If Alaric and his people could succeed in conquering the region, they might have it as their home.

Incorrect statements of Jordanes.[1]

[The Goths agreed to this, but on their way thither were treacherously attacked by Stilicho, the emperor's father-in-law (402). The Goths, however, held their own in the battle

[1] The brief account which Jordanes here gives of the eight or ten years that Alaric spent in northern Italy before finally marching upon Rome is probably incorrect. Historians naturally prefer to rely upon the pagan historian Zosimus, who probably lived a generation or two earlier than Jordanes and who gives a very detailed account of the movements of the West Goths. He says nothing of the emperor's offering Gaul and Spain to the barbarians.

which followed. They turned back, full of wrath, towards Italy, and wasted the northern part of the peninsula during the following years; then moved south into Tuscany.]

Sack of Rome by the West Goths, 410.

Finally they entered the city of Rome and sacked it at Alaric's command. They did not, however, set fire to the city, as is the custom of the wild peoples, and would not permit that any of the holy places should be desecrated. They then proceeded into Campania and Lucania, which they likewise plundered, and came then to Britii. . . .

Alaric, the king of the West Goths, also brought hither the treasures of all Italy which he had won by plunder, and determined to cross from here over to Sicily and thence to Africa, which would offer him a final abode. But a number of his ships were swallowed up by that fearful sea, and many were injured; for man is unable to carry out his wishes when they are opposed to God's will.

Jordanes tells of the death and burial of Alaric.

While Alaric, discouraged by this misfortune, was considering what he should do, he was struck down by an early death and departed this world. His followers mourned the loss of him they had so dearly loved. They diverted the river Busento from its ordinary bed near the town of Consentia — this river, it may be added, brings salubrious water from the foot of the mountains to the town — and had a grave dug by captives in the middle of the channel. Here they buried Alaric, together with many precious objects. Then they permitted the water to return once more to its old bed. Moreover, in order that the place might never be found, they killed all those who had helped dig the grave.

The Goths transferred the rule to Atavulf, a relative of Alaric's, and a man of fine figure and lofty spirit, who, although he was not distinguished for his size, was remarkable for his figure and face. When Atavulf had assumed the rule he turned back again to Rome, and what had been left there from the first sack was now swept clean away, as a field might be devastated by grasshoppers. He robbed not only individuals of their wealth in Italy, but he also took that of the state, and Emperor Honorius was able in no way

to restrain him.[1] He even led away prisoner from Rome Placidia, the sister of Honorius, and daughter of Emperor Theodosius by his second wife.

[Later he married Placidia and strengthened the Gothic cause by this royal alliance. He then moved on to Gaul, where he engaged in a struggle with the other barbarians.]

12. St. Jerome laments the destruction wrought by the barbarians.

The deep impression which the influx of barbarians and the sack of Rome made upon one of the most distinguished scholars of the time is apparent from several passages in the writings of St. Jerome (d. A.D. 420).

Nations innumerable and most savage have invaded all Gaul. The whole region between the Alps and the Pyrenees, the ocean and the Rhine, has been devastated by the Quadi, the Vandals, the Sarmati, the Alani, the Gepidae, the hostile Heruli, the Saxons, the Burgundians, the Alemanni and the Pannonians. O wretched Empire! Mayence, formerly so noble a city, has been taken and ruined, and in the church many thousands of men have been massacred. Worms has been destroyed after a long siege. Rheims, that powerful city, Amiens, Arras, Speyer, Strasburg,[2] — all have seen their citizens led away captive into Germany. Aquitaine and the provinces of Lyons and Narbonne, all save a few towns, have been depopulated; and these the sword threatens without, while hunger ravages within. I cannot speak without tears of Toulouse, which the merits of the holy Bishop Exuperius have prevailed so far to save from destruction. Spain, even, is in daily terror lest it perish, remembering the invasion of the Cimbri; and whatsoever the other provinces have suffered once, they continue to suffer in their fear.

[1] This alleged second sack of Rome is probably a gross exaggeration, as will appear below. Jordanes is our sole authority for the strange burial of Alaric, and there is no particular reason to suppose that he is any nearer the truth in this matter than in the many instances where he can be shown to be in contradiction with more trustworthy writers.

[2] The names of modern cities here used are not in all cases exact equivalents for the regions mentioned by Jerome.

I will keep silence concerning the rest, lest I seem to despair of the mercy of God. For a long time, from the Black Sea to the Julian Alps, those things which are ours have not been ours; and for thirty years, since the Danube boundary was broken, war has been waged in the very midst of the Roman Empire. Our tears are dried by old age. Except a few old men, all were born in captivity and siege, and do not desire the liberty they never knew. Who could believe this? How could the whole tale be worthily told? How Rome has fought within her own bosom not for glory, but for preservation — nay, how she has not even fought, but with gold and all her precious things has ransomed her life. . . .

Who could believe [Jerome exclaims in another passage] that Rome, built upon the conquest of the whole world, would fall to the ground? that the mother herself would become the tomb of her peoples? that all the regions of the East, of Africa and Egypt, once ruled by the queenly city, would be filled with troops of slaves and handmaidens? that to-day holy Bethlehem should shelter men and women of noble birth, who once abounded in wealth and are now beggars?

In regard to the conflicting impressions which we derive from the writers of the time, Mr. Dill in his *Roman Society* makes the following sensible observations:

13. Dill's criticism of our information in regard to the sack of Rome.

It is probable that the slaughter and material damage inflicted by Alaric have been exaggerated. The ancient authorities give very different accounts of the matter. According to some, there was wholesale massacre, and senators were tortured and put to death in large numbers; the city was ravaged with fire, and most of the great works of art were destroyed. On the other hand, Orosius,[1] writing only a few years after the sack, states that, while some buildings were burned down, Alaric gave orders to his soldiers to content themselves with plunder and to abstain

[1] See below, p. 58.

from bloodshed. Jordanes even asserts that the Goths did not set fire to any buildings, and that by Alaric's command they confined themselves to pillage. The probabilities of the case are all in favour of the less tragic view of the catastrophe. The three days, during which the Goths remained within the walls, were short enough for the collection of the enormous spoil which Alaric carried off in his southward march. . . . Even if Alaric had not been restrained by policy from a wholesale and wanton destruction of great masterpieces of art, his Goths could not have wrought such havoc in so short a time.

Rutilius Namatianus, a poet of the early fifth century, says nothing of the destruction of Rome by the Goths.

But the most convincing argument is derived from the poem of Rutilius Namatianus, who, as he bids a reluctant farewell [six years after Rome's sack by Alaric] to the city which he regards with a passionate love and reverence, sees only the crowded monuments of her glory, and has his eyes dazzled by the radiance of her glittering fanes. . . . The temples of the gods are still standing in their dazzling radiance under the serene Italian sky. The cheers of the spectators in the circus reach his ears as his ship still lingers in the Tiber. He feels a passionate regret at quitting "this fair queen of the world," so mighty, so merciful, so bounteous, whose visible splendour is only the faint symbol of her worldwide and godlike sway. Certainly there is here no querulous and faint-hearted lamentation over a crushing and appalling disaster. The troubles of the time, referred to in a few vague phrases, are treated as merely vicissitudes of fortune, such as Rome has known before, and from which she has always risen with renewed vitality.

III. Attila and the Huns

14. Priscus describes the court of Attila, king of the Huns (448).

A description has already been given of the Huns when they first drove the Goths into the Empire.[1] Seventy years after the battle of Adrianople, Priscus,[2] who actually visited the Huns and conversed with Attila,

[1] See above, pp. 35 *sqq.* [2] See above, p. 30.

received a very different impression of the people from that given by Ammianus Marcellinus. We may however infer that the Huns had been a good deal changed by their contact with the European peoples.

Priscus and a companion, Maxim, were sent by the Roman government with messages to Attila in 448. Priscus first tells of their long journey from Constantinople to Scythia, the territory then occupied by the Huns north of the lower Danube. After some difficulty the messengers obtained a first interview with Attila. Then, as the king of the Huns was about to move northward, he and his companion determined to follow him. After describing the incidents of their journey and their arrival at a large village, Priscus continues:

Attila's fine house.

Attila's residence, which was situated here, was said to be more splendid than his houses in other places. It was made of polished boards, and surrounded with wooden inclosures, designed not so much for protection as for appearance' sake. The house of the chieftain Onegesius was second only to the king's in splendor and was also encircled with a wooden inclosure, but it was not adorned with towers like that of the king. Not far from the inclosure was a large bath built by Onegesius, who was the second in power among the Scythians. The stones for this bath had been brought from Pannonia, for the barbarians in this district had no stones or trees, but used imported material. . . .

The next day I entered the inclosure of Attila's palace, bearing gifts to his wife, whose name was Kreka. She had three sons, of whom the eldest governed the Acatiri and the other nations who dwell in Pontic Scythia. Within the inclosures were numerous buildings, some of carved boards beautifully fitted together, others of straight planed beams, without carving, fastened on round wooden blocks which rose to a moderate height from the ground. Attila's wife lived here; and, having been admitted by the barbarians at

the door, I found her reclining on a soft couch. The floor of the room was covered with woolen mats for walking on. A number of servants stood round her, and maids sitting on the floor in front of her embroidered with colors linen cloths intended to be placed over the Scythian dress for ornament. Having approached, saluted her, and presented the gifts, I went out and walked to the other houses, where Attila was, and waited for Onegesius, who, as I knew, was with Attila. . . .

I saw a number of people advancing, and a great commotion and noise, Attila's egress being expected. And he came forth from the house with a dignified strut, looking round on this side and on that. He was accompanied by Onegesius, and stood in front of the house; and many persons who had lawsuits with one another came up and received his judgment. Then he returned into the house and received ambassadors of barbarous peoples. . . .

A banquet at Attila's.

[We were invited to a banquet with Attila at three o'clock.] When the hour arrived we went to the palace, along with the embassy from the western Romans, and stood on the threshold of the hall in the presence of Attila. The cupbearers gave us a cup, according to the national custom, that we might pray before we sat down. Having tasted the cup, we proceeded to take our seats, all the chairs being ranged along the walls of the room on either side. Attila sat in the middle on a couch; a second couch was set behind him, and from it steps led up to his bed, which was covered with linen sheets and wrought coverlets for ornament, such as Greeks and Romans used to deck bridal beds. The places on the right of Attila were held chief in honor; those on the left, where we sat, were only second. . . .

[First the king and his guests pledged one another with the wine.] When this ceremony was over the cupbearers retired, and tables, large enough for three or four, or even more, to sit at, were placed next the table of Attila, so that each could take of the food on the dishes without leaving his seat. The attendant of Attila first entered with a dish

full of meat, and behind him came the other attendants with bread and viands, which they laid on the tables. A luxurious meal, served on silver plate, had been made ready for us and the barbarian guests, but Attila ate nothing but meat on a wooden trencher. In everything else, too, he showed himself temperate; his cup was of wood, while to the guests were given goblets of gold and silver. His dress, too, was quite simple, affecting only to be clean. The sword he carried at his side, the latchets of his Scythian shoes, the bridle of his horse were not adorned, like those of the other Scythians, with gold or gems or anything costly.

When the viands of the first course had been consumed, we all stood up, and did not resume our seats until each one, in the order before observed, drank to the health of Attila in the goblet of wine presented to him. We then sat down, and a second dish was placed on each table with eatables of another kind. After this course the same ceremony was observed as after the first. When evening fell torches were lit, and two barbarians coming forward in front of Attila sang songs they had composed, celebrating his victories and deeds of valor in war.

IV. How Pope Leo the Great saved Rome from Attila

Prosper, a Christian chronicler, writing about 455, gives the following simple account of Leo's famous interview with the king of the Huns three years before:

15. Prosper's account of the meeting of Leo the Great and Attila (452)

Now Attila, having once more collected his forces which had been scattered in Gaul [at the battle of Chalons], took his way through Pannonia into Italy. . . . To the emperor and the senate and Roman people none of all the proposed plans to oppose the enemy seemed so practicable as to send legates to the most savage king and beg for peace. Our most blessed Pope Leo — trusting in the help of God, who never fails the righteous in their trials — undertook the task, accompanied by Avienus, a man of consular rank, and the prefect

Trygetius. And the outcome was what his faith had foreseen; for when the king had received the embassy, he was so impressed by the presence of the high priest that he ordered his army to give up warfare and, after he had promised peace, he departed beyond the Danube.

In a life of Leo the Great by some later author, whose name is unknown to us, the episode as told by Prosper has been developed into a miraculous tale calculated to meet the taste of the time:

16. Later account of Leo's intervention. (Somewhat condensed.)

Attila, the leader of the Huns, who was called the scourge of God, came into Italy, inflamed with fury, after he had laid waste with most savage frenzy Thrace and Illyricum, Macedonia and Moesia, Achaia and Greece, Pannonia and Germany. He was utterly cruel in inflicting torture, greedy in plundering, insolent in abuse. . . . He destroyed Aquileia from the foundations and razed to the ground those regal cities, Pavia and Milan; he laid waste many other towns,[1] and was rushing down upon Rome.

Then Leo had compassion on the calamity of Italy and Rome, and with one of the consuls and a large part of the Roman senate he went to meet Attila. The old man of harmless simplicity, venerable in his gray hair and his majestic garb, ready of his own will to give himself entirely for the defense of his flock, went forth to meet the tyrant who was destroying all things. He met Attila, it is said, in the neighborhood of the river Mincio, and he spoke to the grim monarch, saying: "The senate and the people of Rome, once conquerors of the world, now indeed vanquished, come before thee as suppliants. We pray for mercy and deliverance. O Attila, thou king of kings, thou couldst have no greater glory than to see suppliant at thy feet this people before whom once all peoples and kings lay suppliant. Thou hast subdued, O Attila, the whole circle of the lands which it was granted to the Romans, victors over all peoples, to

[1] This is, of course, an exaggeration. Attila does not seem to have destroyed the buildings, even in Milan and Pavia.

conquer. Now we pray that thou, who hast conquered others, shouldst conquer thyself. The people have felt thy scourge; now as suppliants they would feel thy mercy."

As Leo said these things Attila stood looking upon his venerable garb and aspect, silent, as if thinking deeply. And lo, suddenly there were seen the apostles Peter and Paul, clad like bishops, standing by Leo, the one on the right hand, the other on the left. They held swords stretched out over his head, and threatened Attila with death if he did not obey the pope's command. Wherefore Attila was appeased by Leo's intercession, — he who had raged as one mad. He straightway promised a lasting peace and withdrew beyond the Danube.

V. Clovis and the Franks

17. Gregory of Tours and his history of the Franks.

The history of the Franks was written about a century after the time of Clovis by Gregory, bishop of Tours. The following extracts give some notion of this valuable source, upon which a great part of our knowledge of the Merovingian period rests[1]:

The incident of the vase at Soissons.

At this time [A.D. 486] the army of Clovis pillaged many churches, for he was still sunk in the errors of idolatry. The soldiers had borne away from a church, with all the other ornaments of the holy ministry, a vase of marvelous size and beauty. The bishop of this church sent messengers to the king, begging that if the church might not recover any other of the holy vessels, at least this one might be restored. The king, hearing these things, replied to the messenger: "Follow thou us to Soissons, for there all things that have been acquired are to be divided. If the lot shall give me this vase, I will do what the bishop desires."

When he had reached Soissons, and all the booty had been placed in the midst of the army, the king pointed to this vase, and said: "I ask you, O most valiant warriors, not to refuse to me the vase in addition to my rightful part."

[1] See below, p. 60.

Those of discerning mind among his men answered, "O glorious king, all things which we see are thine, and we ourselves are subject to thy power; now do what seems pleasing to thee, for none is strong enough to resist thee." When they had thus spoken one of the soldiers, impetuous, envious, and vain, raised his battle-ax aloft and crushed the vase with it, crying, "Thou shalt receive nothing of this unless a just lot give it to thee." At this all were stupefied.

The king bore his injury with the calmness of patience, and when he had received the crushed vase he gave it to the bishop's messenger; but he cherished a hidden wound in his breast. When a year had passed he ordered the whole army to come fully equipped to the Campus Martius and show their arms in brilliant array. But when he had reviewed them all he came to the breaker of the vase, and said to him, "No one bears his arms so clumsily as thou; for neither thy spear, nor thy sword, nor thy ax is ready for use." And seizing his ax, he cast it on the ground. And when the soldier had bent a little to pick it up the king raised his hands and crushed his head with his own ax. "Thus," he said, "didst thou to the vase at Soissons."

The conversion of Clovis to Christianity.

[Clovis took to wife Clotilde, daughter of the king of the Burgundians. Now Clotilde was a Christian. When her first son was born] she wished to consecrate him by baptism, and begged her husband unceasingly, saying, "The gods whom thou honorest are nothing; they cannot help themselves nor others; for they are carved from stone, or from wood, or from some metal. The names which you have given them were of men, not of gods, — like Saturn, who is said to have escaped by flight, to avoid being deprived of his power by his son; and like Jupiter himself, foul perpetrator of all uncleanness. . . . What power have Mars and Mercury ever had? They are endowed with magical arts rather than divine power.

"The God who should be worshiped is he who by his word created from nothingness the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that in them is; he who made the sun to

shine and adorned the sky with stars; who filled the waters with creeping things, the land with animals, the air with winged creatures; by whose bounty the earth is glad with crops, the trees with fruit, the vines with grapes; by whose hand the human race was created; whose bounty has ordained that all things should give homage and service to man, whom he created."

But when the queen had said these things, the mind of Clovis was not stirred to believe. He answered: "By the will of our gods all things are created and produced. Evidently your god can do nothing, and it is not even proved that he belongs to the race of gods."

Meantime the faithful queen presented her son for baptism. She had the church adorned with tapestry, seeking to attract by this splendor him whom her exhortations had not moved. But the child whom they called Ingomer, after he had been born again through baptism, died in his white baptismal robe. Then the king reproached the queen bitterly. "If the child had been consecrated in the name of my gods he would be alive still. But now, because he is baptized in the name of your god, he cannot live." . . .

After this another son was born to him, and called in baptism Clodomir. He fell very ill. Then the king said: "Because he, like his brother, was baptized in the name of Christ, he must soon die." But his mother prayed, and by God's will the child recovered.

The queen unceasingly urged the king to acknowledge the true God, and forsake idols. But he could not in any wise be brought to believe until a war broke out with the Alemanni. Then he was by necessity compelled to confess what he had before willfully denied.

It happened that the two armies were in battle, and there was great slaughter. Clovis' army was near to utter destruction. He saw the danger; his heart was stirred; he was moved to tears, and he raised his eyes to heaven, saying: "Jesus Christ, whom Clotilde declares to be the son of the living God, who it is said givest aid to the oppressed, and victory to those who put their hope in thee, I beseech the

glory of thy aid. If thou shalt grant me victory over these enemies and I test that power which people consecrated to thy name say they have proved concerning thee, I will believe in thee and be baptized in thy name. For I have called upon my gods, but, as I have proved, they are far removed from my aid. So I believe that they have no power, for they do not succor those who serve them. Now I call upon thee, and I long to believe in thee — all the more that I may escape my enemies."

When he had said these things, the Alemanni turned their backs and began to flee. When they saw that their king was killed, they submitted to the sway of Clovis, saying: "We wish that no more people should perish. Now we are thine." When the king had forbidden further war, and praised his soldiers, he told the queen how he had won the victory by calling on the name of Christ.

Then the queen sent to the blessed Remigius, bishop of the city of Rheims, praying him to bring to the king the gospel of salvation. The priest, little by little and secretly, led him to believe in the true God, maker of heaven and earth, and to forsake idols, which could not help him nor anybody else.

But the king said: "Willingly will I hear thee, O father; but one thing is in the way — that the people who follow me are not content to leave their gods. I will go and speak to them according to thy word."

When he came among them, the power of God went before him, and before he had spoken all the people cried out together: "We cast off mortal gods, O righteous king, and we are ready to follow the God whom Remigius tells us is immortal."

These things were told to the bishop. He was filled with joy, and ordered the font to be prepared. The streets were shaded with embroidered hangings; the churches were adorned with white tapestries, the baptistery was set in order, the odor of balsam spread around, candles gleamed, and all the temple of the baptistery was filled with divine odor. . . . Then the king confessed the God omnipotent in

the Trinity, and was baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and was anointed with the sacred chrism with the sign of the cross of Christ. Of his army there were baptized more than three thousand.

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B. Additional reading in English.

HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, 8 vols. The fullest and most scholarly treatment in English, with many valuable extracts from sources. *Dynasty of Theodosius* and *Theodoric the Goth*. Two useful books by the same author, giving in brief form some of the results reached in his larger work.

VILLARI, *The Barbarian Invasions of Italy*, 2 vols. An animated and graphic narrative of events down to Charlemagne, with extracts from the sources, intended to interest the general reader.

GREGOROVIUS, *History of Rome in the Middle Ages*, Vols. I and II. An able discussion of the period, particularly as regards the city of Rome.

BURY, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols. The best survey of conditions in the Empire, especially in the East.

MCCABE, *St. Augustine, His Life and Times*. An attractive and sympathetic sketch of the great church father and his contemporaries.

English versions of the sources.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *History of Rome*,[1] translated by Yonge (Bohn Library).

ST. AUGUSTINE, *The City of God*.

Examples of the charming letters of Apollinaris Sidonius are given by Hodgkin, Vol. II, pp. 304–373 (see below, pp. 58 *sqq.*).

The Letters of Cassiodorus,[2] translated by Hodgkin, London, 1886.

C. Materials for advanced study.

WIETERSHEIM, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 2 vols., Leipzig, n. d. (1880?). This second edition has been completely recast and revised by Felix Dahn, who has devoted his life to this field of history. Volume I deals with the Romans and barbarians before the coming of the Huns. The second volume, which takes up the invasions of the Goths, Franks, etc., with its critical notes and exhaustive bibliography, is certainly the best guide to the period for the advanced student.

DAHN'S own voluminous *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, 4 vols., 1881–1889 (Oncken's series), covering the early history of the Germans and their movements to the death of Charlemagne, is in general parallel to Hodgkin. It is supplied with illustrations and maps.

[1] See below, section *C*. [2] See below, section *C*.

GEBHARDT, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, 2 vols., 2d ed., 1901, is a very condensed history of Germany, — a species of elaborate syllabus prepared by a number of specialists, who give full references to the latest monographs and discussions. It devotes a good deal of space to the Germans before and during the invasions.

FUSTEL DE COULANGES, *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, Vol. II, "L'invasion germanique et la fin de l'empire," Paris, 1891. A brilliant statement of fresh investigations by which the author sought to prove that France owed much more to the Romans and much less to the German barbarians than German scholars had admitted.

Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution, edited by LAVISSE, Vol. II, Part I (1903), is the most recent and readable general review of the Merovingian period.

The *laws* of the various German peoples — Franks, West Goths, Burgundians, Lombards, etc. — which were written down during the invasions and afterwards, throw a great deal of light upon the customs, institutions, and ideals of the barbarians. The most complete but not very critical texts of these laws are to be found in the *Monumenta*.

Of the histories of law and institutions which make use of this material, the clearest and most available are: ESMEIN, *Cours élémentaire d'histoire du droit français*, 4th ed., Paris, 1901, 10 fr.; R. SCHRÖDER, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, 4th ed., Leipzig, 1902, M. 22; VIOLLET, *Histoire des institutions politiques et administratives de la France*, 3 vols., Paris, 1890–1903. Pleasantly written and supplied with plentiful references. In these works one finds incorporated such investigations as those of Waitz and Brunner, who have written exhaustive works on the institutions of the Frankish period.

Unsatisfactory character of the sources for the barbarian invasions.

The sources of information for the long period of four hundred years which elapsed between the battle of Adrianople and the accession of Charlemagne are very meager and unsatisfactory.

Gibbon on Ammianus Marcellinus

Gibbon, after recounting the first great victory of the Goths over the Roman army, as described by Ammianus Marcellinus, says: "It is not without the most sincere regret that I must now take leave of an accurate and faithful guide, who has composed the history of his own times without indulging the passions which usually affect the mind of a contemporary. Ammianus Marcellinus, who terminates his useful work with the defeat and death of Valens, recommends the more glorious subject of the ensuing reign to the youthful vigour and eloquence of the rising generation. The rising generation was not disposed to accept his advice or to imitate his example; and in the study of the reign of Theodosius

we are reduced to illustrate the partial narrative of Zosimus[1] by the obscure hints of fragments and chronicles, by the figurative style of poetry or panegyric, and by the precarious assistance of the ecclesiastical writers who, in the heat of religious faction, are apt to despise the profane virtues of sincerity and moderation. Conscious of these disadvantages, which will continue to involve a considerable portion of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, I shall proceed with doubtful and timorous steps."[2]

Augustine's *City of God.*

Instigated by the capture of Rome by Alaric and the West Goths, ST. AUGUSTINE composed his famous work, *The City of God*, to prove that the disaster could not, as the pagans urged, be reasonably attributed to the anger of the heathen gods who had been deserted for the God of the Christians.

Orosius and his *History directed against the Pagans.*

OROSIUS, a disciple and ardent admirer of Augustine, undertook further to confound the pagans by reviewing the whole history of the past with the aim of showing that mankind had in all ages suffered from terrible calamities and disasters. Human trouble was no new thing; so it was absurd, he maintained, to cast the blame for the disorders of the time upon the Christians and their religion. His *Seven Books of History directed against the Pagans* was one of the most popular books of the Middle Ages and greatly affected later writers. The facts were, however, selected and presented with the purpose of proving his gloomy thesis, and only the latter chapters of the work, which closes with the year 417, have any historical value, for they relate to the writer's own time, about which little is known.

There is a cheap and excellent edition of Orosius published by Teubner, 1889. The work is to be found in MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. XXXI, and, better, in the *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vol. V.

Salvian's *Government of God.*

A specimen has already been given (see pp. 28 *sqq.* above) of SALVIAN'S *Eight Books on the Government of God*, written about 450. This is not a history, nor an impartial description of the social conditions of the time, since the writer is tempted to paint them in too dark colors, and, conversely, to give too cheerful a view of the habits and conduct of the barbarians, whom he believed God had sent to punish the civilized world for its monstrous iniquities.

Apollinaris Sidonius and his letters.

APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS, an amiable contemporary of Salvian's, took a much less gloomy view of the situation than he. The ancestors of

[1] See above, p. 42, note.

[2] Bury's edition, Vol. III, p. 122. An amusing but none the less valuable denunciation of the sources for the period of the invasions may be found in HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, Vol. II, pp. 299–303.

Sidonius had held high offices under the Roman emperors. He was born in Lyons about 430. He received a good education, made many friends, became bishop of Averni, died of a fever about 489, and left to posterity a great number of letters which give a lively idea of the world in which he lived.

"Sometimes we think of the hundred years between Theodosius and Theodoric as wholly filled with rapine and bloodshed. Sometimes we carry back into the fifth century the thick darkness which hung over the intellectual life of Merowingian France or Lombard Italy. In both these estimates we are mistaken. A careful perusal of the three volumes of the letters and poems of Sidonius reveals to us the fact that in Gaul, at any rate, the air still teemed with intellectual life, that authors were still writing, amanuenses still transcribing, friends complimenting or criticising, and all the cares and pleasures of literature filling the minds of large classes of men just as though no empires were sinking and no strange nationalities were suddenly rising around them" (HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, Vol. II, p. 305). For an extract from a letter of Sidonius, see below, pp. 150 *sq.*

Lives of the saints, especially that of Severinus.

The numerous Lives of the saints, although a very uncritical kind of biography, are sometimes helpful to the historical student. The best known of those for the fifth century is the *Life of Severinus* (d. 482), a missionary who labored in Noricum among the Germans on the Danube. His biography was prepared by his disciple Eugisippus in 511. (Text in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.* New edition in the octavo edition of the *Monumenta;* translation in the *Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit.*[1])

Cassiodorus, *Historia Tripartita.*

CASSIODORUS (*ca.* 477–*ca.* 570), Theodoric's minister, was the chief literary promoter of the sixth century. He edited a *Tripartite History* made up of extracts from three ecclesiastical historians,— Sozomenus, Socrates, and Theodoret, — who had written in Greek a hundred years before. This compilation comes down to 441. Cassiodorus also wrote a history of the Goths, which has unfortunately been lost. But most important of all is his own vast correspondence, which forms an invaluable source for the period. (Text of the Letters, *Variarum (epistolarum) Libri XII*, edited by Mommsen in the *Monumenta.* Hodgkin has published a condensed English translation.)

Jordanes.

We have an abridgment of Cassiodorus' lost *History of the Goths* made by the illiterate Jordanes about 551. Here for the first time the ancient religious legends of the Germans and the tales of their heroes found their way into Latin. (See above, pp. 39 *sqq.*)

1 For a description of the *Monumenta* and its various divisions and offshoots, see below, pp. 262 *sq.*

Procopius and his history of the wars of Justinian.

One historical work at least was produced in the sixth century which possesses some of the fine traits of the classical Greek writers. PROCOPIUS had little in common with the crude and unlettered Jordanes. In his *History of his Own Time*, which closes with the year 559, he gives an excellent account of Justinian's wars with the Persians, Goths, and Vandals. (See Bury's Gibbon, Vol. IV, p. 513.) (Procopius is rather inaccessible. It is published with a Latin translation in the *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn, 1833–1838. A new edition of the Gothic wars may be had with an Italian translation by Comparetti, Rome, 1895 *sq.*, a complete edition, edited by Haury, is announced by Teubner.)

Gregory of Tours and his *Ten Books of Frankish History.*

As Cassiodorus was spending his last days in a monastery of southern Italy, where he brought his long life to an end, GREGORY OF TOURS (540–594) was beginning his celebrated history of the Franks, without which we should know practically nothing of Clovis and the earlier Merovingian period. Gregory's position as bishop of Tours gave him a very important place in the Frankish kingdoms, and he had ample opportunity to become acquainted with prominent men, to familiarize himself with public affairs, and to talk with the many pilgrims who flocked to the revered shrine of St. Martin of Tours.

The first of his *Ten Books of Frankish History* hastily reviews the history of the world down to the death of St. Martin of Tours in 397. The two following books deal with Clovis and his successors. The remaining books, constituting the great body of the work and bringing the story down to 591, are really a history of his own time. Here Gregory made use apparently almost altogether of oral tradition and his own observations, for he himself must have witnessed, or had personal knowledge of, many of the things which he narrates.

Gregory had little knowledge of the ancient writers, as he himself freely confesses; his language is grammatically very incorrect, but is simple and direct, and is supposed by some to have nearly approached the spoken Latin of the period. As an ardent orthodox churchman, he hated the Arian Burgundians and West Goths, and too freely condoned the treacherous and bloody deeds of Clovis and others, whom he held to be God's instruments for the extension of the true Church. Yet in spite of his ignorance and his enthusiasm for his particular form of Christianity, Gregory's book remains the chief and almost sole historical monument of the Merovingian period. Moreover, he rarely fails to gain his readers' confidence by his unmistakable sincerity and his directness and freedom from artificiality. (Editions in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica;* also in the *Collection de Textes pour servir à l'étude de*

l'histoire, 1886–1893. Translation in *Geschichtschreiber*. The text with a French translation is published by the Société de l'histoire de France.)

The imaginary schoolmaster Fredegarius and his chronicle.

The only historical work dealing with the Franks in the seventh century which has come down to us is that which passes for convenience under the name of FREDEGARIUS THE SCHOOLMASTER, although there is no reason to suppose that a man of that name wrote it. Indeed, three writers who probably lived in Burgundy would seem to have been responsible for the only valuable part of the work, which covers the period from Gregory of Tours to the year 660. In the following century, under the inspiration of the brother of Charles Martel, the chronicle of Fredegarius was continued by three other successive writers, who brought it down to the year 768. (Text in the *Monumenta*, in *Geschichtschreiber*, and Guizot, *Collection de Mémoires*.)

Paulus Diaconus (d. *ca.* 800), and his history of the Lombards.

The Lombards found their historian in PAULUS WARNEFRIDI, commonly called Paul the Deacon, born about 725 in northern Italy. He was teacher and friend of the Lombard princess Adelperga and became so distinguished as an historian that Charlemagne summoned him to join the literary circle of his court. His history of the Lombards closes with the year 744. (In the *Monumenta;* also in the octavo edition of the *Monumenta* and in the *Geschichtschreiber*.)

Full accounts of the sources mentioned above and of the other materials will be found in Wattenbach and in Molinier (see above, p. 11). For BEDE'S *History of the English Church* and *The Lives of the Saints* which throw light on the conversion of the Germans, see close of Chapter V.

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF THE PAPACY

I. The Bishop of Rome and the Headship of the Church

Threefold nature of the papal claims.

The claim of the bishop of Rome to be the divinely ordained head of the Christian Church has always rested upon three main assumptions: (1) that Peter was designated by Christ as the chief of the apostles, (2) that Peter was the first bishop of Rome, and lastly (3) that he handed down to succeeding bishops of Rome the powers which he himself enjoyed. The following extracts illustrate the nature of these claims and the arguments adduced in support of them.

Peter's sojourn at Rome.

In the New Testament there is indirect evidence of Peter's sojourn in Rome. The First Epistle of Peter closes with the words, "The church that is at Babylon . . . saluteth you." Since there is no reason to think that a Christian community existed at Babylon, it has generally been assumed that Rome is here meant. This appears to be a justifiable interpretation, for the early Christians were wont to denounce Rome as a very Babylon of wickedness.[1]

Very little has been preserved which casts any light on the position of the bishop of Rome for a century

[1] Further evidence for Peter's presence in Rome is adduced from the New Testament. See, among other writers, Langen, *Geschichte der römischen Kirche*, pp. 40 *sqq*.

after Peter's death, which probably occurred during the persecution of the Christians under Nero (A.D. 64) or not long after.[1]

18. Irenæus (d. *ca.* 202) gives a list of the bishops of Rome.

Irenæus, who became bishop of Lyons in 177 and who died about 202, in a work directed against the various heresies which prevailed, emphasizes the purity and authority of the beliefs handed down in the Roman Church. He would put to confusion all those who dissented from the orthodox belief

by bringing forward that tradition derived from the apostles of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known church, founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul. This is the faith preached to men which comes down to our own times through the succession of the bishops. . . . And it is a matter of necessity that every church should agree with this church, on account of its preëminent authority.[2] . . .

[1] About the year 95 a letter, ascribed to Clement — who, according to later tradition, was bishop of Rome — was dispatched from the Roman Church to that at Corinth. This speaks of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, in enumerating the noble examples of Christian heroes "furnished in our own generation." It also reproves the Corinthian Church for deposing certain churchmen, and so seems to assume a species of superiority. A few years later (probably in 107) Ignatius of Antioch wrote to the Church at Rome that he was on his way to the capital to suffer martyrdom. His letter begins: "To the church which is beloved and enlightened by the will of Him that willeth all things, . . . which presides in the place of the region of the Romans, worthy of God, worthy of honor, worthy of the highest happiness, worthy of praise, worthy of obtaining her every desire, worthy of being deemed holy, presiding in love, is named from Christ, and from the Father," etc. To some scholars these passages seem to indicate the early supremacy of the Roman Church. To others they appear too vague to prove more than a natural preëminence of the Christian community of the capital, which had numbered Peter and Paul among its many martyrs.

[2] This rather vague and much discussed passage reads, *Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam.*

The blessed apostles, having founded and built up the church, committed the office of bishop into the hands of Linus. Of this Linus, Paul makes mention in the Epistles to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus; and after him in the third place from the apostles, Clement was assigned the bishopric. This man, since he had seen the blessed apostles and had been conversant with them, might be said to have the preaching of the apostles still echoing in his ears and their traditions before his eyes. Nor was he alone in this, for there were still many remaining who had received instructions from the apostles. In the time of this Clement, no small dissension having occurred among the brethren at Corinth, the Church in Rome dispatched a most powerful letter to the Corinthians,[1] exhorting them to peace, renewing their faith, and declaring the tradition which it had lately received from the apostles. . . .

To this Clement succeeded Evaristus. Alexander followed Evaristus; then, sixth from the apostles, Sixtus was appointed; after him Telesphorus, who was gloriously martyred; then Hyginus; after him Pius; then after him Anicetus. Soter having succeeded Anicetus, Eleutherius does now in the twelfth place from the apostles hold the inheritance of the episcopate. In this order and by this succession, the ecclesiastical tradition from the apostles and the preaching of the truth have come down to us, and this is most abundant proof that there is one and the same vivifying faith which has now been preserved in the Church from the apostles until now and handed down in truth.

19. Tertullian (*ca.* 160–*ca.* 220) dwells upon the special distinction of the apostolic church at Rome.

Tertullian, presbyter at Carthage, a vigorous writer of the second and early third century, thus speaks of the churches founded by the apostles:

Come now you who would profitably direct your curiosity toward the interests of your salvation, run over the apostolic churches in which the chairs of the apostles still preside in

[1] See note 1 on preceding page.

their places, where their own authentic letters are still read, bringing back their voice and the face of each. If you happen to be near Achaia, you have Corinth; if you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi and Thessalonica. If you can turn toward Asia, you have Ephesus. If you live near Italy, you have Rome, from whence comes the authority in our own case.

How happy is this church on which apostles poured forth all their teachings along with their blood! where Peter endures a passion like his Lord's! where Paul wins his crown in a death like John's, where the Apostle John was plunged — but uninjured — into boiling oil, and then sent to his island exile! See what she has learned and taught and the fellowship she has enjoyed with even [our] churches in Africa.

Later Tertullian joined the sect of the Montanists, who were regarded as heretics by the Roman Church. In his treatise "On Modesty" he protests scornfully against the powers claimed by the bishop of Rome. He learns, he says, that "the sovereign pontiff, that is, the bishop of bishops," has issued a certain edict of which he can in no way approve. He then proceeds to inquire whence the bishop of Rome "usurps" this right.

Later Tertullian questions the claims of the bishop of Rome.

If because the Lord said to Peter, "upon this rock will I build my church," "to thee have I given the keys of the heavenly kingdom," or "whatsoever thou shalt have bound or loosed on earth shall be bound or loosed in the heavens," you, therefore, presume that the power of binding and loosing has come down to you, that is, to every church akin to Peter, what sort of man are you, subverting and wholly changing the manifest intention of the Lord, who conferred this right upon Peter *personally*. "On *thee*," he says, "will I build my church," and "I will give to *thee* the keys," not to the church; and "whatsoever *thou* shalt have loosed or bound," not what *they* shall have loosed or bound.

The attitude of Cyprian toward the bishop of Rome and the bishops in general has already been shown.[1] There are, however, certain interesting passages in his letters in regard to the matter in hand. For example, certain persons having withdrawn from the unity of the Church and set up a bishop of their own, Cyprian says of them:

20. Cyprian on the danger of appeals to the bishop of Rome (252).

They dare to appeal to the throne of Peter, and to the chief church whence priestly unity takes its source. . . . But we have all agreed — as is both fair and just — that every case should be heard there where the crime has been committed; and a portion of the flock has been assigned to each individual pastor, which he is to rule and govern, having to give an account of his deeds to the Lord. It certainly behooves those over whom we are placed not to run about, nor to break up the harmonious agreement of the bishops with their crafty and deceitful rashness, but there to plead their cause, where they may be able to have both accusers and witnesses to their crime.

21. The Council of Nicæa mentions the bishop of Rome among the archbishops.

It was almost inevitable that the bishops in the various great cities of the Empire should be conceded a certain preëminence over the bishops about them. In this way the office of archbishop, or metropolitan, developed. The first distinct, legal recognition of the rights of the archbishops is found in the famous sixth canon of the Council of Nicæa (325).

The old custom in Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis shall continue to be observed, so that the bishop of Alexandria shall exercise authority over all these regions, for the bishop of Rome enjoys a similar right. Similarly in Antioch and in the other provinces the churches shall retain their prerogatives. Moreover let it be known that should any one have

[1] See above, pp. 19 *sqq.*

become bishop without the approval of the metropolitan, this great council has ordained that such an one shall not be regarded as a bishop. . . .

Distinction between the position of the bishop of Rome as religious and as governmental head of the Church.

The council says nothing of a single head of the Church having jurisdiction over all the other bishops. And here it is necessary to notice a very important but often neglected distinction between (1) the moral and religious supremacy accorded to the bishop of Rome, and (2) the recognition of his right to be the supreme director of the whole church government. As the head of the venerated church at Rome, and as the successor of the two most glorious of the apostles, who had confirmed with their blood the teachings which they had handed down to their successors, the bishop of Rome doubtless seemed to the prelates assembled at Nicæa, as he had seemed to Irenæus and Cyprian, chief among the bishops. Yet there is no indication in the acts of the Council of Nicæa that as an officer in the Church the bishop of Rome enjoyed any greater or wider jurisdiction than other metropolitans, such as the archbishop of Alexandria or of Antioch.

The Council of Sardika (343) permits condemned bishops to appeal to Rome for a new trial.

Nevertheless, the bishop of Rome was destined to be recognized in the West both as spiritual and governmental head of the Church. The Council of Sardika, eighteen years after the Council of Nicæa, decreed that should any bishop believe that he had been unjustly condemned and deposed by a synod, he should have the privilege of appealing to the bishop of Rome. If the latter decided that the case should be reconsidered, he should order a new trial by other judges.

There is evidence that the Roman church and its bishops had from the earliest times been consulted by

22. The decretal of Siricius (385) the first authentic example of a papal decree.

other churches when dissension arose, and that the rulings of Rome enjoyed the greatest authority. But the earliest extant example of an authoritative order addressed to the Church in general by a bishop of Rome is the famous "Decretal"[1] of Pope Siricius, issued sixty years after the Council of Nicæa.

A bishop of Spain had submitted a number of questions to the bishop of Rome. These Siricius decides in detail, and then closes his letter as follows:

The bishop of Rome assumes his right to issue decrees binding upon other bishops.

I believe that I have now given a sufficient answer to the various questions which you have referred to the Roman church as to the head of your body. Now we would stimulate you, our brother, more and more carefully to observe the canons and adhere to the decretals[1] which have been ordained. Moreover, we would have you bring to the attention of all our fellow-bishops those things which we have written in reply to your questions, not only to those bishops who are within your dioceses, but to all the Carthaginians, Bæticans, Lusitanians, and Gallicians,[2] as well as to those in the neighboring provinces. Let all the matters which have been duly settled by us be transmitted to them through letters from you. For although no priest of God is likely to remain in ignorance of the decrees of the Apostolic See and the venerable decisions of the canons, it will be more expedient and more to the glory of the ancient station which you occupy if those general orders which I have addressed to you individually should be brought through you to the attention of all our brethren. In this way those things which have been ordained by us with the utmost circumspection and caution, after due

[1] The term "decretal," applied to papal ordinances, is derived from *epistolae decretales*, i.e. letters which authoritatively established some point. The acts of the councils are usually called "canons," i.e. "rules."

[2] Siricius is addressing the bishop of Tarragona. The regions here enumerated included the rest of the Spanish peninsula.

deliberation and by no means hastily, shall be permanently observed, and thus all possibility of those excuses which might otherwise reach us shall be removed.

St. Jerome, however, in spite of the veneration which he often expressed for the Church of Rome, does not always appear to recognize the supremacy of the bishop of Rome over the other bishops.

23. St. Jerome (d. 420) on the equality of all the bishops.

The church at Rome is not to be considered as one thing and the rest of the churches throughout the world as another. Those of Gaul and Britain, Africa, Persia, and India, as well as the various barbarous nations, adore one Christ and observe a single rule of truth. If you are looking for authority, the world is surely greater than the city of Rome. Wherever there is a bishop, whether at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople, Rhegium, or Alexandria, his rank and priesthood are the same. Neither the power that riches bring nor the humility of poverty makes a bishop higher or lower in rank. All are successors of the apostles. . . . Why urge the custom of a single city?

Leo the Great gives the following clear statement of nature and grounds of the pope's claim to be head of the whole Church.

24. A sermon by Leo the Great on Peter's headship.

. . . A single person, Peter, is appointed from the whole world as a leader in the calling of all peoples, and is placed above all the other apostles and the fathers of the Church. Although there are many priests among the people of God, and many pastors, Peter should of right rule all of those whom Christ himself rules in the first instance. Great and marvelous, my dear brethren, is the participation in its own power which it has pleased the Divine Excellency to grant to this man. And such powers as it granted to other leaders in common with Peter were granted only through Peter. Our Lord, indeed, asked all the apostles what men said of him, but so long as it was left to all to reply, so long was the hesitation

of human ignorance clearly displayed. But when the opinion of the apostles was asked, he who was first in apostolic dignity was the first to reply; who when he had answered, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," Jesus said to him, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven"[1]; — that is to say, thou art blessed for this reason, for my father has taught thee, neither has mere earthly opinion misled thee, but thou art instructed by a heavenly inspiration. . . . I am the foundation than which none other can be established; yet thou too art a rock [*petra*] because thou art made firm by my strength, so that those things which I have in virtue of my power thou shalt have in common with me by participation. "And upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." . . .

And he said to the blessed Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." The right to this power passed also to the other apostles, and the provisions of this ordinance went forth to all the leaders of the Church. Still it was not in vain that what was made known to all was especially recommended to one. For this power was intrusted expressly to Peter, since Peter was placed as a model before all the rulers of the Church. Peter's prerogative remains and everywhere his judgment goes forth in equity. For never is severity too great nor forgiveness too lax where nothing is bound nor loosed except the blessed Peter bind or loose it.

Just before his passion, which was about to shake the apostles' constancy, the Lord said to Simon, "Simon, Simon, behold, Satan asked to have you, that he might sift you as wheat: but I made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not: and do thou, when once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren,"[2] that you should not enter into temptation. The danger of the temptation to yield to fear was

[1] Matthew xvi. 16–17. [2] Luke xxii. 31–32.

common to all the apostles and all alike needed the aid of divine protection, since the devil desired to confound and ruin them all. Yet the Lord took special care of Peter and prayed especially that Peter might have faith, as if the state of the others would be more secure if the mind of their chief was not overcome. In Peter, therefore, the strength of all was confirmed and the aid of divine grace so ordered that the strength which was granted to Peter by Christ was in turn transmitted through Peter to the apostles.

Since, therefore, beloved brethren, we behold this protection divinely appointed to us, we may properly and justly rejoice in the merits and dignity of our leader, sending up thanks to our eternal King and Redeemer, our Lord Jesus Christ, for giving such power to him whom he made the head of the whole Church: so that if anything, even in our own days, is rightly done by us and rightly ordained, it should be properly attributed to the influence and guidance of him to whom it was said: "When once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren." To whom, moreover, his Lord, after his resurrection, when Peter had three times professed his eternal love, said mystically three times, "Feed my sheep."[1] Like a faithful shepherd, he has beyond a doubt fulfilled his Lord's command, confirming us by his exhortations, and never ceasing to pray for us that we be not overcome by any temptation. . . .

Leo on the hierarchy (446).

[Elsewhere Leo says:] Although the priests enjoy a common dignity, they are not all on the same footing, since even among the blessed apostles, who were alike in honor, there was a certain distinction in authority. All were alike chosen, but it was given to one that he should be preëminent among the others. Upon this model the distinction among the bishops is based, and it is salutarily provided that all should not claim the right to do all things, but in each province there should be one who should have the first word among his brethren. Again, in the greater cities others are appointed to greater responsibilities. Through these the oversight of

[1] John xxi. 15 *sqq.*

the whole Church is concentrated in one see, that of Peter, and from this head there should never be any dissent.

The following edict was issued by the western emperor, during Leo's pontificate:

25. The edict of the emperor Valentinian recognizing the supremacy of the bishop of Rome (445).

Since, then, the primacy of the Apostolic See is established by the merit of St. Peter (who is the chief among the bishops), by the majesty of the city of Rome, and finally by the authority of a holy council,[1] no one, without inexcusable presumption, may attempt anything against the authority of that see. Peace will be secured among the churches if every one recognize his ruler.

[After a reference to the independent action of certain prelates of Gaul, the edict continues.] Lest even a slight commotion should arise in the churches, or the religious order be disturbed, we herewith permanently decree that not only the bishops of Gaul, but those of the other provinces, shall attempt nothing counter to ancient custom without the authority of the venerable father [*papa*] of the Eternal City. Whatever shall be sanctioned by the authority of the Apostolic See shall be law to them and to every one else; so that if one of the bishops be summoned to the judgment of the Roman bishop and shall neglect to appear, he shall be forced by the moderator[2] of his province to present himself. In all respects let the privileges be maintained which our deified predecessors have conferred upon the Roman church.

26. Letter of Pope Gelasius I to Emperor Anastasius on the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal power (494).

The pope's view of the natural superiority of the spiritual over the temporal power finds a clear expression in the following remarkable letter of Gelasius I (494).

. . . There are two powers, august Emperor, by which this world is chiefly ruled, namely, the sacred authority of the priests and the royal power. Of these, that of the priests is the more weighty, since they have to render an account for even the kings of men in the divine judgment. You are

[1] That of Sardika: see above, p. 67. [2] An imperial official.

also aware, dear son, that while you are permitted honorably to rule over human kind, yet in things divine you bow your head humbly before the leaders of the clergy and await from their hands the means of your salvation. In the reception and proper disposition of the heavenly mysteries you recognize that you should be subordinate rather than superior to the religious order, and that in these matters you depend on their judgment rather than wish to force them to follow your will.

If the ministers of religion, recognizing the supremacy granted you from heaven in matters affecting the public order, obey your laws, lest otherwise they might obstruct the course of secular affairs by irrelevant considerations, with what readiness should you not yield them obedience to whom is assigned the dispensing of the sacred mysteries of religion. Accordingly, just as there is no slight danger in the case of the priests if they refrain from speaking when the service of the divinity requires, so there is no little risk for those who disdain — which God forbid — when they should obey. And if it is fitting that the hearts of the faithful should submit to all priests in general who properly administer divine affairs, how much the more is obedience due to the bishop of that see which the Most High ordained to be above all others, and which is consequently dutifully honored by the devotion of the whole Church.

II. Gregory the Great and his Times

27. Milman on Gregory the Great and the importance of the papacy.

Times of emergency call forth great men — men at least, if not great in relation to the true intellectual, moral, and spiritual dignity of man, great in relation to the state and to the necessities of their age; engrossed by the powerful and dominant principles of their time, and bringing to the advancement of those principles surpassing energies of character, inflexible resolution, the full conviction of the wisdom, justice, and holiness of their cause, in religious affairs of the direct and undeniable sanction of God. Such

was Gregory I, to whom his own age and posterity have assigned the appellation of the Great.

Now was the crisis in which the Papacy must reawaken its obscured and suspended life. It was the only power which lay not entirely and absolutely prostrate before the disasters of the times, — a power which had an inherent strength, and might resume its majesty. It was this power which was most imperatively required to preserve all which was to survive out of the crumbling wreck of Roman civilization.

To Western Christianity was absolutely necessary a centre, standing alone, strong in traditionary reverence, and in acknowledged claims to supremacy. Even the perfect organization of the Christian hierarchy might in all human probability have fallen to pieces in perpetual conflict: it might have degenerated into a half secular feudal caste with hereditary benefices, more and more entirely subservient to the civil authority, a priesthood of each nation or each tribe, gradually sinking to the intellectual or religious level of the nation or tribe. . . .

It is impossible to conceive what had been the confusion, the lawlessness, the chaotic state of the middle ages, without the mediæval Papacy; and of the mediæval Papacy the real father is Gregory the Great. In all his predecessors there was much of the uncertainty and indefiniteness of a new dominion. Christianity had converted the Western world — it had by this time transmuted it: in all except the Roman law, it was one with it. Even Leo the Great had something of the Roman dictator. Gregory is the Roman altogether merged in the Christian bishop.

28. Sad state of the western world as depicted in the letters of Gregory the Great.

The calamities of the times, especially the coming of "the most unspeakable Lombards," as he commonly calls them, convinced Gregory that the end of the world was near at hand. In a letter written to a fellow-bishop shortly after he reluctantly became pope, he gives a dark picture of the world and of his heavy responsibilities:

Gregory to Leander, bishop of Seville:

With all my heart I have wished to answer you better, but the burden of my pastoral calls so overpowers me that I would rather weep than speak, — as your reverence undoubtedly gathers from the very character of my correspondence when I am remiss in addressing one whom I warmly love. In fact, so beaten about am I by the billows in this corner of the world, that I can in no wise bring to harbor the ancient, rolling ship at whose helm I stand through God's mysterious dispensation.

Now the waves break over us from the front, now at the side the foaming mountains of the sea swell high, now in the rear the tempest pursues us. Beset by all these perils, I am forced first to steer directly in the face of the storm, again to swerve the vessel and to receive obliquely the onset of the waters. I groan, because I know that if I am negligent the bilge water of vice is deepening, and that if the storm assails us furiously at that instant the decaying planks forebode shipwreck. Fearful, I remember that I have lost my quiet shore of peace, and sighing I gaze toward the land which, while the wind of circumstances blows contrarily, I cannot gain. So, dearest brother, if you love me, stretch forth the hand of prayer to me amid these floods, and, as you aid me in my troubles, thus as a reward shall you come forth more valiantly from yours. . . .

Signs that the end of the world is at hand. (From one of Gregory's *Sermons*.)

[Of all the signs described by our Lord as presaging the end of the world], some we see already accomplished; the others we dread as close upon us. For we now see that nation rises against nation, and that they press and weigh upon the land in our own times as never before in the annals of the past. Earthquakes overwhelm countless cities, as we often hear from other parts of the world. Pestilence we endure without interruption. It is true that as yet we do not behold signs in the sun and moon and stars; but that these are not far off we may infer from the changes in the atmosphere. Before Italy was given over to be desolated by the sword of a heathen foe, we beheld fiery ranks in

A reference, perhaps, to the aurora borealis.

heaven, and even the streaming blood of the human race as it was afterwards spilt.

29. How a monk dared to have gold in his possession. (From Gregory's *Dialogues*.)

Gregory's *Dialogues*, a collection of the lives of holy men, was for centuries, probably, the most popular of his works. Two examples of his accounts of the saints and the miracles which they performed will be found in the following chapter. The incident given below sheds light upon Gregory's life as abbot of a monastery.

There was in my monastery a certain monk, Justus by name, skilled in medicinal arts. . . . When he knew that his end was at hand, he made known to Copiosus, his brother in the flesh, how that he had three gold pieces hidden away. Copiosus, of course, could not conceal this from the brethren. He sought carefully, and examined all his brother's drugs, until he found the three gold pieces hidden away among the medicines. When he told me this great calamity that concerned a brother who had lived in common with us, I could hardly hear it with calmness. For the rule of this our monastery was always that the brothers should live in common and own nothing individually.

Then, stricken with great grief, I began to think what I could do to cleanse the dying man, and how I should make his sins a warning to the living brethren. Accordingly, having summoned Pretiosus, the superintendent of the monastery, I commanded him to see that none of the brothers visited the dying man, who was not to hear any words of consolation. If in the hour of death he asked for the brethren, then his own brother in the flesh was to tell him how he was hated by the brethren because he had concealed money; so that at death remorse for his guilt might pierce his heart and cleanse him from the sin he had committed.

When he was dead his body was not placed with the bodies of the brethren, but a grave was dug in the dung pit, and his body was flung down into it, and the three pieces of gold he had left were cast upon him, while all together cried, "Thy money perish with thee!" . . .

When thirty days had passed after his death, my heart began to have compassion on my dead brother, and to ponder prayers with deep grief, and to seek what remedy there might be for him. Then I called before me Pretiosus, superintendent of the monastery, and said sadly: "It is a long time that our brother who died has been tormented by fire, and we ought to have charity toward him, and aid him so far as we can, that he may be delivered. Go, therefore, and for thirty successive days from this day offer sacrifices for him. See to it that no day is allowed to pass on which the salvation-bringing mass [*hostia*] is not offered up for his absolution."[1] He departed forthwith and obeyed my words.

How the soul of the sinning monk was saved by the saying of masses.

We, however, were busy with other things, and did not count the days as they rolled by. But lo! the brother who had died appeared by night to a certain brother, even to Copiosus, his brother in the flesh. When Copiosus saw him he asked him, saying, "What is it, brother? How art thou?" To which he answered: "Up to this time I have been in torment; but now all is well with me, because to-day I have received the communion." This Copiosus straightway reported to the brethren in the monastery.

Then the brethren carefully reckoned the days, and it was the very day on which the thirtieth oblation was made for him. Copiosus did not know what the brethren were doing for his dead brother, and the brethren did not know that Copiosus had seen him; yet at one and the same time he learned what they had done and they learned what he had seen, and the vision and the sacrifice harmonized. So the fact was plainly shown forth how that the brother who had died had escaped punishment through the salvation-giving mass.

30. Gregory's *Moralia*, or *Commentary on the Book of Job.*

Among the works of Gregory the Great, none was more highly esteemed than his great Commentary on the Book of Job, — his *Moralia*, as he entitled it. The

[1] This is, perhaps, the earliest clear reference to masses for the souls of the dead.

work is prefaced by a letter to a friend who had urged him to undertake it. In spite of the burden of his other responsibilities, Gregory, relying upon God's aid, resolved to attempt to give the deeper *allegorical* meaning as well as the literal explanation.

The Scriptures taken in their literal sense are fitted for the simple-minded, but there is a deeper allegorical meaning for the wise.

For as the Word of God, by the mysteries which it contains, exercises the understanding of the wise, so it often nourishes the simple-minded by what presents itself on the outside. It presenteth in open day that wherewith the little ones may be fed; it keepeth in secret that whereby men of a loftier range may be held in wondering suspense. It is, as it were, a kind of river, if I may so liken it, which is both shallow and deep, wherein both the lamb may find a footing and the elephant float at large. . . .

This exposition being such as I have described, I have transmitted it to your Blessedness for your inspection, not because I have carried it out as worthily as I should, but because I remember that I promised it at your request. In which whatsoever your Holiness may discover that is languid or unpolished, let it be excused, since, as is well known, I was ill when I prepared it. When the body is worn out with sickness, the mind being also affected, our efforts to express ourselves grow weak.

Gregory's ill health.

For many years now I have been afflicted with frequent pains in the bowels, and the powers of my stomach being broken down, I am at all times and seasons weakly. Under the influence of fevers, slow, but in constant succession, I draw my breath with difficulty. . . . And perchance it was by Divine Providence designed that I, a stricken one, should set forth Job stricken, and that, through being scourged myself, I should the more perfectly enter into the feelings of one that was scourged. . . .

Gregory justifies his neglect of grammar and rhetoric.

I beg, moreover, that in going through the statements of this work you would not seek the foliage of eloquence therein; for by the sacred oracles the vanity of a barren wordiness is purposely debarred those that treat thereof.

. . . Hence that art of speaking which is conveyed by rules of worldly training I have despised to observe; for as the tenor of this epistle also will tell, I do not escape harsh-sounding consonants, nor do I avoid barbarisms, and I pay little attention to rhetorical situations and arrangements, and the cases of propositions. For I account it very far from meet to submit the words of the divine oracle to the rules of Donatus[1]; neither are these observed by any of the translators thereof, in the authoritative text of Holy Writ. Now as my exposition takes its origin from thence, it is plainly meet that this production, like a kind of offspring, should wear the likeness of its mother.

A reaction against the current literary bombast.

The manner of this allegorical interpretation, so popular throughout the Middle Ages, may be illustrated by Gregory's commentary on the statement that Job possessed, among other property, "five hundred yoke of oxen and five hundred she asses."

An example of allegorical interpretation.

We have said above that by the number fifty, which is completed by seven weeks and the addition of an unit, rest is signified, and by the number ten the sum of perfection is set forth. Now, forasmuch as the perfection of rest is promised to the faithful, by multiplying fifty ten times, we arrive at five hundred. But in Sacred Writ the title of oxen sometimes represents the dullness of the foolish sort, and sometimes the life of well-doers. For because the stupidity of the fool is represented by the title of an ox, Solomon says rightly, "He goeth after her straightway, as an ox goeth to the slaughter." Again, that the life of every laborer is set forth by the title of oxen, the precepts of the Law are a testimony, which enjoined through Moses, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn." And this again is declared in plain words, "The labourer is worthy of his hire."

[1] A grammarian, St. Jerome's teacher, who wrote the elementary grammar most widely used during the Middle Ages.

By the title of asses, too, we have represented sometimes the unrestrained indulgence of the wanton, sometimes the simple-mindedness of the Gentiles ; for the inertness of fools is imaged by the designation of asses, as where it is said through Moses, "Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together." As though he said, "Do not associate fools and wise men together in preaching, lest by means of him who has no power to accomplish the work you hinder him who has abundant power." The unrestrained indulgence of the wanton is likewise set forth by the appellation of asses, as the prophet testifies when he says, "whose flesh is as the flesh of asses."

Again, by the title of asses is shown the simplicity of the Gentiles. Hence, when the Lord went up to Jerusalem, he is related to have sat upon a young ass. For what is it for him to come to Jerusalem sitting upon an ass, except taking possession of the simple hearts of the Gentiles to conduct them to the vision of peace, by ruling and ordering them? And this is shown by one passage, and that a very easy one, in that both the workmen of Judea are represented by oxen, and the Gentile peoples by an ass, when it is said by the prophet, "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib." For who appears as the ox saving the Jewish people, whose neck was worn by the yoke of the Law? And who was the ass but the Gentile world, which was like a brute animal readily seduced by every deceiver, for he did not resist by exercise of reason?

31. Gregory's insight into human nature exhibited in his *Pastoral Charge*.

The modern reader who may not find either the *Dialogues* or the *Moralia* to his taste will, nevertheless, agree that few works exhibit a deeper insight into human character and motives than Gregory's *Pastoral Charge*, in which he discourses on the difficult position of the bishops :

It is hard for a preacher who is not loved, however right may be his warnings, to be heard gladly. He, therefore,

who is over others ought to study to be loved, that he may be heard; and yet not to seek his own popularity for itself, lest he be found by a secret usurpation in thought to oppose him whom by his office he appeareth to serve. This Paul well signifieth, when he maketh manifest to us the secrets of his desires, saying, "Even as I please all men in all things"; who nevertheless saith again, "If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ." Paul therefore pleaseth and pleaseth not, because in that he desireth to please, he seeketh not that he himself, but that through him the Truth, should please men.

The preacher should make himself beloved, but not seek popularity for its own sake.

The spiritual guide ought also to know that vices for the most part feign themselves to be virtues. For niggardliness often cloaketh itself under the name of frugality; and lavishness, on the other hand, hideth itself under the title of bounty. Often an inordinate forgiveness is thought to be kindness, and unbridled wrath is reckoned the virtue of spiritual zeal. Often headlong action is supposed to be the efficiency of speed, and slowness apes the deliberation of seriousness.

Vices cloak themselves in virtues.

Hence the ruler of souls must needs distinguish with watchful care between virtues and vices; lest either niggardliness take possession of his heart, and he be delighted to appear frugal in his distributions; or when a thing is lavishly expended, he should boast himself as bountiful in showing mercy; or by forgiving that which he ought to smite, he should drag his subjects to eternal punishments; or by smiting ruthlessly that which is wrong, he do more grievous wrong himself; or by unreasonably hastening that which might have been done duly and seriously, he should render it of no esteem; or by putting off the merit of a good action, he should change it for the worse.

Inasmuch, then, as we have shown what manner of man the pastor ought to be, let us now make known after what manner he teacheth. For, as Gregory Nazianzen of reverend memory hath taught long before us, one and the same

Many men of many minds.

exhortation is not suited to all, because all are not bound by the same manner of character. For ofttimes the things which profit some are bad for others. Inasmuch as for the most part the herbs also which feed some animals kill others; and a gentle whistling which stilleth horses setteth dogs astir; and the medicine which abateth one disease giveth force to another; and the bread which strengtheneth the life of the vigorous putteth an end to that of babes.

The speech, therefore, of teachers ought to be fashioned according to the condition of the hearers, that it may both be suited to each for his own needs, and yet may never depart from the system of general edification. For what are the attentive minds of the hearers but, as I may so say, certain strings stretched tight on a harp which he that is skillful in playing, to the end that he may produce a tune which shall not be at variance with itself, striketh in various ways? And therefore the strings give back harmonious melody because they are beaten with one quill indeed but not with one stroke. Whence also every teacher, to the end that he may edify all in the one virtue of charity, ought to touch the hearts of his hearers out of one system of teaching but not with one and the same address.

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NEWMAN, *Manual of Church History*, Vol. I. Covering the whole period before the Protestant Revolt. The most useful recent introduction to the subject, with good bibliographies.[1]

[1] The innumerable histories of the Church are all of them somewhat unsatisfactory from the standpoint of the ordinary historical student who turns to them for an account of the general development of the Church and the rise of the papacy. He is likely to be especially confused and impeded by the frequent and often highly technical discussions of heresies and doctrinal controversies which have always had an irresistible charm for ecclesiastical writers. Nevertheless the

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ALZOG, *Manual of Universal Church History*, 3 vols. The most careful and scholarly general account from a Catholic standpoint to be had in English.

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SCHAFF, *History of the Christian Church*, Vols. I–IV to Gregory VII. Vol. V has never appeared. Vols. VI and VII relate to the Protestant Revolt. A voluminous but well-written treatise, where the student will find special topics fully and interestingly treated. It was written a generation later than Milman's volumes referred to above.

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MOELLER, *History of the Christian Church*, Vols. I and II. This is a rather poor English translation of a very condensed but highly scholarly and valuable German manual, which takes careful account of all the recent discussions, especially those which have appeared in German periodicals and monographs. The best work of reference in this field.

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church histories are indispensable, and by consulting the tables of contents one can easily discover the sections which bear upon the matters in which the reader is interested.

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Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Begründet von J. J. Herzog. A third carefully revised edition of this all-important ecclesiastical encyclopedia is being issued under the editorship of Hauck. Vols. I–XIII, over half the work, have appeared. Leipzig, 1896 *sqq.*

Kirchenlexikon oder Encyklopädie der Katholischen Theologie und ihre Hilfswissenschaften. Second edition edited by Hergenröther and Kauler, 12 vols. and separately bound index, Freiburg, 1882–1901.

Both of the above are of the utmost value to the student of general history, who should turn to them for special topics and bibliographies.

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The sources.

The chief sources for the history of the papacy to Gregory's time are the lives of the popes in the *Liber pontificalis*, and their letters, especially those of Leo the Great and of Gregory himself.

The *Liber pontificalis*.

The *Liber pontificalis* has given rise to a great deal of discussion among scholars. It contains brief, fragmentary accounts of all the bishops of Rome from Peter down. Many of the lives would hardly fill a page of this volume. Just how the collection grew up, no one knows. According to Duchesne, the earliest part was got into its present form shortly after Theodoric's death, and then accounts of the succeeding popes were added from time to time, bringing the collection down to the latter part of the ninth century.

Modern editions: DUCHESNE, *Liber pontificalis*, published in the *Bibliothèque des écoles d'Athènes et de Rome*, 1886–1892. MOMMSEN has edited the most important part of the collection, down to 715 in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. An older edition in MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, CXXVII–CXXIX. It is there attributed, as formerly, to *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, a writer of the ninth century.

As for the letters of the popes, many will be found in MIGNE; those of Leo I in Vol. LIII and of Gregory I in Vol. LXXVII. The best edition of Gregory I's letters is in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

Jaffé's *Regesta*, a monumental work.

An invaluable guide to the history of the papacy is JAFFÉ, *Regesta pontificum*, 2d ed., edited by Wattenbach and others, 1885–1888. This is a register of all the acts, edicts, and letters of the successive bishops of Rome. It is as complete an official diary as it was possible to reconstruct. An analysis is usually given of all the more important papers, and then a list is added of the various printed collections where the documents may be found in full. But all the information that it was possible to find for the five centuries which elapsed between the times of St. Peter and the accession of Gregory I fills but 140 pages, while Gregory's own pontificate alone occupies 75 pages.

CHAPTER V

THE MONKS AND THE CONVERSION OF THE GERMANS

I. The Monastic Attitude of Mind

32. Jerome's plea for the life of solitude (373).

One of the earliest and most eloquent pleas for monasticism is found in a well-known letter of St. Jerome's, who himself led the life of a monk for many years. He thus urges on a friend, first the duty, then the beauty, of a hermit's existence.

Family ties and obligations should not stand in the way of the monastic life.

Though your little nephew twine his arms around your neck; though your mother, with disheveled hair and tearing her robe asunder, point to the breast with which she nourished you; though your father fall down on the threshold before you, pass on over your father's body. Fly with tearful eyes to the banner of the cross. In this matter cruelty is the only piety. . . . Your widowed sister may throw her gentle arms around you. . . . Your father may implore you to wait but a short time to bury those near to you, who will soon be no more. Your weeping mother may recall your childish days, and may point to her shrunken breast and to her wrinkled brow. Those around you may tell you that all the household rests upon you. Such chains as these the love of God and the fear of hell can easily break. You say that Scripture orders you to obey your parents, but he who loves them more than Christ loses his soul. The enemy brandishes a sword to slay me. Shall I think of a mother's tears?

Delights of the hermit.

[When once his friend has cast off the responsibilities of the world he will discover that the desert is full of attractions.] O solitude, whence are brought the stones of the city of the Great King! O wilderness rejoicing close to

God! What would you, brother, in the world, — you that are greater than the world? How long are the shades of roofs to oppress you? How long the dungeon of a city's smoke? Believe me, I see more of light! How refreshing to cast off the things that oppress the body and fly away into the pure sparkling ether!

Do you fear poverty? Christ called the poor "blessed." Are you terrified at labor? No athlete without sweat is crowned. Do you think of food? Faith fears not hunger. Do you dread the naked ground for limbs consumed with fasts? The Lord lies with you. Does the thought of unkempt locks disturb you? Your head is Christ. Does the infinite vastness of the desert affright you? In the mind walk abroad in Paradise. So often as you do this there will be no desert. Does your skin roughen without baths? Who is once washed in Christ needs not to wash again. In a word, hear the apostle as he answers: "The sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us!" You are too pleasure-loving, brother, if you wish to rejoice in this world and hereafter to reign with Christ!

The spirit of rigorous monasticism is admirably expressed by a monk of the sixteenth century, as follows:

33. The practice of monasticism as described by a Spanish monk of the sixteenth century.

First of all, carefully excite in yourself an habitual affectionate will in all things to imitate Jesus Christ. If anything agreeable offers itself to your senses, yet does not at the same time tend purely to the honor and glory of God, renounce it and separate yourself from it for the love of Christ, who all his life long had no other taste or wish than to do the will of his Father, whom he called his meat and nourishment. For example, you take satisfaction in *hearing* of things in which the glory of God bears no part. Deny yourself this satisfaction: mortify your wish to listen. You take pleasure in *seeing* objects which do not raise your mind to God: refuse yourself this pleasure, and turn away your eyes. The same with conversations and all other things.

Act similarly, so far as you are able, with all the operations of the senses, striving to make yourself free from their yokes.

The radical remedy lies in the mortification of the four great natural passions, joy, hope, fear, and grief. You must seek to deprive these of every satisfaction and leave them, as it were, in darkness and the void. Let your soul, therefore, turn always:

Not to what is most easy, but to what is hardest;

Not to what tastes best, but to what is most distasteful;

Not to what most pleases, but to what disgusts;

Not to matter of consolation, but to matter for desolation rather;

Not to rest, but to labor;

Not to despise the more, but the less;

Not to aspire to what is highest and most precious, but to what is lowest and most contemptible;

Not to will anything, but to will nothing;

Not to seek the best in everything, but to seek the worst, so that you may enter for the love of Christ into a complete destitution, a perfect poverty of spirit, and an absolute renunciation of everything in this world.

Embrace these practices with all the energy of your soul and you will find in a short time great delights and unspeakable consolations.

Professor William James has set forth the various feelings which lie at the basis of asceticism in the following remarkable passages:

34. A modern psychologist's view of the ascetic spirit. (From James, *Varieties of Religious Experience.*)

Where to seek the easy and the pleasant seems instinctive — and instinctive it appears to be in man; any deliberate tendency to pursue the hard and painful as such and for their own sakes might well strike one as purely abnormal. Nevertheless, in moderate degrees it is natural and even usual to human nature to court the arduous. It is only the extreme manifestations of the tendency that can be regarded as a paradox. . . . Some men and women, indeed, there are who can live on smiles and the word "yes" forever.

But for others (indeed for most), this is too tepid and relaxed a moral climate. Passive happiness is slack and insipid, and soon grows mawkish and intolerable. Some austerity and wintry negativity, some roughness, danger, stringency, and effort, some "no! no!" must be mixed in, to produce the sense of an existence with character and texture and power. . . .

Asceticism may be a mere expression of organic hardihood, disgusted with too much ease.

Temperance in meat and drink, simplicity of apparel, chastity, and non-pampering of the body generally, may be fruits of the love of purity, shocked by whatever savors of the sensual.

They may also be fruits of love, that is, they may appeal to the subject in the light of sacrifices which he is happy in making to the Deity whom he acknowledges.

Again, ascetic mortification and torments may be due to pessimistic feelings about the self, combined with theological beliefs concerning expiation. The devotee may feel that he is buying himself free, or escaping worse sufferings hereafter by doing penance now.

In psychopathic persons, mortifications may be entered on irrationally, by a sort of obsession or fixed idea which comes as a challenge and must be worked off, because only thus does the subject get his interior consciousness feeling right again.

Finally, ascetic exercises may in rarer instances be prompted by genuine perversions of the bodily sensibility, in consequence of which normally pain-giving stimuli are actually felt as pleasures.

II. The Devil and his Wicked Angels

The following passages give some idea of the religious world in which the monks and missionaries lived, and the views of the next world which they inculcated in the minds of the newly converted barbarians.

35. The pagan gods only devils in disguise. (From the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, condensed.)

Andrew, by God's mercy bishop of Fondi, was a man of most holy life, but the ancient enemy of mankind sought to tempt him, by causing him to think evil thoughts.

Now one day a certain Jew was coming to Rome from Campania, and he traveled by the Appian Way. When he reached the hill of Fondi he saw that the day was darkening toward evening, and he did not know at all where he might sleep. He was near a temple of Apollo, and he decided to stay there.

Belief in miracles and ever-present demons.

He feared the sacrilegious character of the place, so, though he had not the faith of the cross, he took care to protect himself with the sign of the cross. In the middle of the night he was disturbed by the very fear of solitude, and lay awake. Suddenly he looked up, and saw a crowd of evil spirits. He who was in authority over the rest took his place in the midst of them and began to discuss the deeds of each spirit, and to ask how much evil each one had accomplished.

One of the spirits told how he had caused Bishop Andrew to think an unholy thought. Then the evil spirit and enemy of the human race exhorted that spirit to carry out what he had begun in Andrew's soul.

Then the spirit who commanded the rest ordered his followers to find out who had presumed to sleep in that temple. But the Jew made the sign of the cross, and all the throng of evil spirits, crying out "Woe, woe!" disappeared.

36. St. Gall and the demons. (From the *Life of St. Gall* (630) by an anonymous writer.)

[St. Columban and St. Gall came, about the year 610, to a village near the Lake of Constance called Bregenz, where they had heard that there might be opportunity to serve God.] There the brethren's hands made ready a dwelling, and the holy Columban fervently prayed to Christ in behalf of that place. The superstitious pagans worshiped three idols of gilded metal, and believed in returning thanks to them rather than to the creator of the world.

So Columban, the man of God, wished to destroy that superstition, and told Gall to talk to the people, since he himself excelled in Latin, but not in the language of that

tribe. The people gathered at the temple for their wonted festival; but they were attracted by the sight of the strangers, not, however, by reverence for the divine religion. When they were assembled, Gall, the elect of God, fed their hearts with honeyed words, exhorting them to turn to their Creator, and to Jesus Christ the Son of God, who opened the gate of heaven for the human race, sunk in indifference and uncleanness.

Then before them all he broke in pieces with stones the enthroned idols, and cast them into the depths of the lake. Then part of the people confessed their sins and believed, but others were angry and enraged, and departed in wrath; and Columban, the man of God, blessed the water and sanctified the place, and remained there with his followers three years. . . .

Some time after, in the silence of the night, Gall, the elect of God, was laying nets in the water, and lo! he heard the demon of the mountain top calling to his fellow who dwelt in the depths of the lake. The demon of the lake answered, "I am here"; he of the mountain returned: "Arise, come to my aid! Behold the aliens come, and thrust me from my temple. Come, come! help me to drive them from our lands." The demon of the lake answered: "One of them is upon the lake, whom I could never harm. For I wished to break his nets, but see, I am vanquished and mourn. The sign of his prayer protects him always, and sleep never overcomes him."

Gall, the elect of God, heard this, and fortified himself on all sides with the sign of the cross, and said to them: "In the name of Jesus Christ, I command you, leave this place, and do not presume to harm any one here." And he hastened to return to the shore, and told his abbot what he had heard.

When Columban, the man of God, heard this, he called the brethren together in the church, and made the accustomed sign (the cross). Before the brethren could raise their voices, the voice of an unseen being was heard, and wailing and lamentation echoed from the mountain top. So the

malicious demons departed with mourning, and the prayer of the brethren arose as they sent up their supplications to God.

Gregory the Great tells the following tale in his *Dialogues* to illustrate the manner in which the devil was wont to harass those who sought to avoid worldly temptations by seeking solitude:

37. Martin, a hermit, resists the terrors of the devil. (From Gregory's *Dialogues*.)

In Campania, upon Mt. Marsicus, a venerable man called Martin lived for many years the solitary life, shut up in a very small cave. Many of us knew him, and were witnesses of his deeds. I myself have heard much of him both from Pope Pelagius, my predecessor, and from other religious men who related anecdotes of him. His first miracle was this: hardly had he established himself in the cleft of the mountain, when from the very rock which was hollowed out to make his narrow cave burst forth a stream of water just sufficient to supply the daily need of the servant of God, and there was never too much or too little. . . .

But the ancient enemy of mankind envied the man's strength, and labored with his wonted skill to drive him forth from the cave. For he entered into the beast that is his friend — the serpent — and sought to make the monk afraid, and to drive him from his dwelling. He came at twilight, and stretched himself out before the holy man when he was praying, and lay down with him when he went to rest.

The holy man was entirely unafraid. He would hold to the serpent's mouth his hand or his foot, and say to him, "If thou hast leave to smite me, I do not say thee nay." After these things had taken place continually for three years, on a certain day the ancient enemy of mankind, vanquished by such great endurance, groaned; and the serpent let himself glide over the steep mountain side to a precipice. And the flame that went out from him burned all the trees in that place. Almighty God constrained him to burn the mountain side, and so compelled him to show forth the great virtue of the man from whom he had departed, conquered.

III. Purgatory, Hell, and Heaven

38. Description of purgatory, hell, and heaven. (From Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England.*)

At this time [Bede writes] a memorable miracle, and like to those of former days, was wrought in Britain; for, to the end that the living might be saved from the death of the soul, a certain person, who had been some time dead, rose again to life, and related many remarkable things he had seen; some of which I have thought fit here briefly to take notice of.

There was a master of a family in that district of the Northumbrians which is called Cunningham, who led a religious life, as did also all that belonged to him. This man fell sick, and his distemper daily increasing, being brought to extremity, he died in the beginning of the night; but in the morning early he suddenly came to life again, and sat up, upon which all those that sat about the body weeping fled away in a great fright: only his wife, who loved him best, though in a great consternation and trembling, remained with him. He, comforting her, said, "Fear not, for I am now truly risen from death, and permitted again to live among men; however, I am not to live hereafter as I was wont, but from henceforward after a very different manner."

Then rising immediately, he repaired to the oratory of the little town and, continuing in prayer till day, immediately divided all his substance into three parts, one whereof he gave to his wife, another to his children, and the third, belonging to himself, he instantly distributed among the poor. Not long after he repaired to the monastery of Melrose, which is almost inclosed by the winding of the river Tweed, and having been shaven, went into a private dwelling which the abbot had provided, where he continued till the day of his death in such extraordinary contrition of mind and body that, though his tongue had been silent, his life declared that he had seen many things, either to be dreaded or coveted, which others knew nothing of.

Vision of purgatory.

Thus he related what he had seen. "He that led me had a shining countenance and a bright garment, and we went on silently, as I thought, towards the northeast. Walking on, we came to a vale of great breadth and depth, but of

infinite length; on the left it appeared full of dreadful flames; the other side was no less horrid for violent hail and cold snow flying in all directions; both places were full of men's souls, which seemed by turns to be tossed from one side to the other, as it were by a violent storm; for when the wretches could no longer endure the excess of heat, they leaped into the middle of the cutting cold; and finding no rest there, they leaped back again into the middle of the unquenchable flames.

"Now whereas an innumerable multitude of deformed spirits were thus alternately tormented far and near, as far as could be seen, without any intermission, I began to think that this perhaps might be hell, of whose intolerable flames I had often heard talk. My guide, who went before me, answered to my thought, saying, 'Do not believe so, for this is not hell, as you imagine.'

Vision of the mouth of hell.

"When he had conducted me, much frightened with that horrid spectacle, by degrees, to the farther end, on a sudden I saw the place begin to grow dusk and filled with darkness. When I came into it, the darkness, by degrees, grew so thick that I could see nothing besides it and the shape and garment of him that led me. As we went on through the shades of night, on a sudden there appeared before us frequent globes of black flames, rising, as it were, out of a great pit, and falling back again into the same.

"When I had been conducted thither, my leader suddenly vanished, and left me alone in the midst of darkness and this horrid vision, whilst those same globes of fire, without intermission, at one time flew up and at another fell back into the bottom of the abyss; and I observed that all the flames, as they ascended, were full of human souls, which, like sparks flying up with smoke, were sometimes thrown on high, and again, when the vapor of the fire ceased, dropped down into the depth below. Moreover, an insufferable stench came forth with the vapors, and filled all those dark places.

"Having stood there a long time in much dread, not knowing what to do, which way to turn, or what end I might

expect, on a sudden I heard behind me the noise of a most hideous and wretched lamentation, and at the same time a loud laughing, as of a rude multitude insulting captured enemies. When that noise, growing plainer, came up to me, I observed a gang of evil spirits dragging the howling and lamenting souls of men into the midst of the darkness, whilst they themselves laughed and rejoiced.

"Among those men, as I could discern, there was one shorn like a clergyman, also a layman, and a woman. The evil spirits that dragged them went down into the midst of the burning pit; and as they went down deeper, I could no longer distinguish between the lamentation of the men and the laughing of the devils, yet I still had a confused sound in my ears.

"In the meantime some of the dark spirits ascended from that flaming abyss, and, running forward, beset me on all sides, and much perplexed me with their glaring eyes and the stifling fire which proceeded from their mouths and nostrils; and they threatened to lay hold on me with burning tongs, which they had in their hands; yet they durst not touch me, though they frightened me. Being thus on all sides inclosed with enemies and darkness, and looking about on every side for assistance, there appeared behind me, on the way that I came, as it were, the brightness of a star shining amidst the darkness, which increased by degrees, and came rapidly towards me: when it drew near, all those evil spirits that had sought to carry me away with their tongs dispersed and fled.

"He whose approach put them to flight was the same that had led me before; who, turning then towards the right, began to lead me, as it were, towards the southeast, and having soon brought me out of the darkness, conducted me into an atmosphere of clear light.

"While he thus led me in open light, I saw a vast wall before us, the length and height of which, in every direction, seemed to be altogether boundless. I began to wonder why we went up to the wall, seeing no door, window, or path through it. When we came to the wall, we were presently, I know not by what means, on the top of it, and within it was

a vast and beautiful field, so full of fragrant flowers that the odor of its delightful sweetness immediately dispelled the stench of the dark furnace, which had penetrated me through and through.

"So great was the light in this place that it seemed to exceed the brightness of the day, or of the sun in its meridian height. In this field were innumerable assemblies of men in white and many companies seated together rejoicing. As he led me through the midst of these happy people, I began to think that this might, perhaps, be the kingdom of heaven, of which I had often heard so much. He answered to my thought, saying, 'This is not the kingdom of heaven, as you imagine.'

Vision of heaven.

"When we had passed those mansions of blessed souls and gone farther on, I discovered before me a much more beautiful light, and heard therein sweet voices of persons singing; and so wonderful a fragrancy proceeded from the place that the other, which I had before thought most delicious, then seemed to me but very indifferent, even as that extraordinary brightness of the flowery field, compared with this, appeared mean and inconsiderable. When I began to hope we should enter that delightful place, my guide on a sudden stood still; and then, turning round, led me back by the way we came.

"When we returned to those joyful mansions of the souls in white, he said to me, 'Do you know what all these things are which you have seen?' I answered that I did not; and then he replied, 'That vale you saw, so dreadful for its consuming flames and cutting cold, is the place in which the souls of those are tried and punished who, delaying to confess and amend their crimes, at length have recourse to repentance at the point of death, and so depart this life; but nevertheless because they, even at their death, confessed and repented, they shall all be received into the kingdom of heaven at the day of judgment by the prayers, alms, and fasting of the living, and more especially by masses.

"'That fiery and stinking pit which you saw is the mouth of hell, into which whosoever falls shall never be delivered

to all eternity. This flowery place, in which you see these most beautiful young people, so bright and gay, is that into which the souls of those are received who depart the body in good works, but who are not so perfect as to deserve to be immediately admitted into the kingdom of heaven; yet they shall all, at the day of judgment, see Christ and partake of the joys of his kingdom; for whoever are perfect in thought, word, and deed, as soon as they depart the body immediately enter into the kingdom of heaven; in the neighborhood whereof that place is, where you heard the sound of sweet singing, with the fragrant odor and bright light.

"'As for you, who are now to return to your body and live among men again, if you will endeavor nicely to watch your actions, and to direct your speech and behavior in righteousness and simplicity, you shall, after death, have a place of residence among these joyful troops of blessed souls; for when I left you for a while, it was to know how you were to be disposed of.' When he had said this to me I much abhorred returning to my body, being delighted with the sweetness and beauty of the place I beheld and with the company of those I saw in it. However, I durst not ask him any questions; but in the meantime, on a sudden, I found myself alive among men."

IV. The Conversion of England, as described by Bede

39. The arrival in Kent of the missionaries sent by Gregory the Great (597). (From Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England.*)

In the year of our Lord 582, Maurice, the fifty-fourth emperor from Augustus, ascended the throne and reigned twenty-one years. In the tenth year of his reign, Gregory, a man renowned for learning and behavior, was promoted to the apostolic see of Rome, and presided over it thirteen years, six months, and ten days. He, being moved by divine inspiration, about the one hundred and fiftieth year after the coming of the English into Britain, sent the servant of God, Augustine, and with him several other monks who feared the Lord, to preach the word of God to the English nation. . . .

[Augustine, with his companions, arrived in Britain.] The powerful Ethelbert was at that time king of Kent; he had extended his dominions as far as the great river Humber, by which the southern Saxons are divided from the northern. On the east of Kent is the large Isle of Thanet, containing, according to the English way of reckoning, six hundred families, and divided from the other land by the river Wantsum, which is about three furlongs across and fordable only in two places, for both ends of it run into the sea.

In this island landed the servant of our Lord, Augustine, and his companions, being, as is reported, nearly forty men. They had, by order of the blessed Pope Gregory, brought interpreters of the nation of the Franks, and sending to Ethelbert, signified that they were come from Rome, and brought a joyful message, which most undoubtedly assured to all that took advantage of it everlasting joys in heaven, and a kingdom that would never end with the living and true God.

King Ethelbert meets the Roman missionaries.

The king, having heard this, ordered them to stay in that island where they had landed and that they should be furnished with all necessaries till he should consider what to do with them. For he had heard of the Christian religion, having a Christian wife, of the royal family of the Franks, called Bertha, whom he had received from her parents upon condition that she should be permitted to practice her religion with the bishop, Luidhard, who was sent with her to preserve the faith.

Some days later the king came into the island and, sitting in the open air, ordered Augustine and his companions to be brought into his presence. For he had taken precaution that they should not come to him in any house, lest, according to an ancient superstition, if they practiced any magical arts they might impose upon him, and so get the better of him. But they came furnished with divine, not with magic, power, bearing a silver cross for their banner, and the image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a board; and singing the litany, they offered up their prayers to the Lord for the

eternal salvation both of themselves and of those to whom they came.

Augustine founds a monastery at Canterbury.

When Augustine had sat down, pursuant to the king's commands, and preached to him and his attendants there present the word of life, the king answered thus: "Your words and promises are very fair, but they are new to us and of uncertain import, and I cannot approve of them so far as to forsake that which I have so long followed with the whole English nation. But because you are come from far into my kingdom, and, as I conceive, are desirous to impart to us those things which you believe to be true and most beneficial, we will not molest you, but give you favorable entertainment and take care to supply you with the necessary sustenance; nor do we forbid you to preach and gain as many as you can to your religion."

Augustine preaches to the king.

Accordingly, he permitted them to reside in the city of Canterbury, which was the metropolis of all his dominions, and pursuant of his promise, besides allowing them sustenance, did not refuse them the liberty to preach. . . .

As soon as they entered the dwelling place assigned them, they began to imitate the course of life practiced in the primitive church: applying themselves to frequent prayer, watching, and fasting; preaching the word of life to as many as they could; despising all worldly things, as not belonging to them; receiving only their necessary food from those they taught; living themselves in all respects conformably to what they prescribed to others, and being always disposed to suffer any adversity, and even to die for that truth which they preached. In short, several believed and were baptized, admiring the simplicity of their innocent life and the sweetness of their heavenly doctrine.

There was on the east side of the city a church dedicated to St. Martin, built whilst the Romans were still in the island, wherein the queen, who, as has been said before, was a Christian, used to pray. In this they first began to meet, to sing, to pray, to say mass, to preach, and to baptize, till the king, being converted to the faith, allowed them to preach openly and to build or repair churches in all places.

When he among the rest, induced by the unspotted life of these holy men and their delightful promises, which, by many miracles, they proved to be most certain, believed and was baptized, greater numbers began daily to flock together to hear the word and, forsaking their heathen rites, to associate themselves, by believing, to the unity of the Church of Christ.

The great sagacity and practical good sense of Gregory the Great are exhibited in his instructions to the missionaries.

40. Pope Gregory's instructions to the missionaries in England (601).

When Almighty God shall bring you to the most reverend Bishop Augustine, our brother, tell him what I have, after mature deliberation on the affairs of the English, determined upon, namely, that the temples of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed, but let the idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be made and sprinkled in the said temples; let altars be erected, and relics placed. For if those temples are well built, it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God; that the nation, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may remove error from their hearts and, knowing and adoring the true God, may the more familiarly resort to the places to which they have been accustomed.

And because they have been used to slaughter many oxen in the sacrifices to devils, some solemnity must be substituted for them on this account, as, for instance, that on the day of the dedication, or of the nativities of the holy martyrs whose relics are there deposited, they may build themselves huts of the boughs of trees about those churches which have been turned to that use from temples, and celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting, no more offering beasts to the devil, but killing cattle to the praise of God in their eating, and returning thanks to the Giver of all things for their sustenance; to the end that, whilst some outward gratifications are permitted them, they may the more easily consent to the inward consolations of the grace of God.

For there is no doubt that it is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds, because he who endeavors to ascend to the highest place rises by degrees or steps and not by leaps. Thus the Lord made himself known to the people of Israel in Egypt; and yet he allowed them to use the sacrifices which they were wont to offer to the devil in his own worship, commanding them in his sacrifice to kill beasts to the end that, changing their hearts, they might lay aside one part of the sacrifice, whilst they retained another; that whilst they offered the same beasts which they were wont to offer, they should offer them to God, and not to idols, and thus they would no longer be the same sacrifices.

The heathen should be gently and gradually weaned from their old gods.

Bede relates the story of the conversion of Northumbria to the Roman Catholic form of faith, as follows:

[Edwin, king of Northumbria, urged by his Christian wife, Ethelberga, and by the bishop Paulinus,] answered that he was both willing and bound to receive the new faith which the bishop taught, but that he wished, nevertheless, to confer about it with his principal friends and counselors, to the end that, if they also were of his opinion, they might all be cleansed together in Christ, the Fountain of Life. Paulinus consenting, the king did as he had said; for, holding a council with the wise men, he asked of every one in particular what he thought of the new doctrine and the new worship that was preached.

41. Bede's account of the conversion of Northumbria.

To which the chief of his own priests, Coifi, immediately answered: "O king, consider what this is which is now preached to us; for I verily declare to you that the religion which we have hitherto professed has, as far as I can learn, no virtue in it. For none of your people has applied himself more diligently to the worship of our gods than I; and yet there are many who receive greater favors from you, and are more preferred than I, and who are more prosperous in all their undertakings. Now if the gods were good for anything, they would rather forward me, who have been more

careful to serve them. It follows, therefore, that if upon examination you find those new doctrines which are now preached to us better and more efficacious, we should immediately receive them without any delay."

Another of the king's chief men, approving of Coifi's words and exhortations, presently added: "The present life of man, O king, seems to me, in comparison with that time which is unknown to us, like to the swift flight of a sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter amid your officers and ministers, with a good fire in the midst, whilst the storms of rain and snow prevail abroad; the sparrow, I say, flying in at one door and immediately out at another, whilst he is within is safe from the wintry storm; but after a short space of fair weather he immediately vanishes out of your sight into the dark winter from which he has emerged. So this life of man appears for a short space, but of what went before or what is to follow we are utterly ignorant. If, therefore, this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed."

The other elders and king's counselors, by divine inspiration, spoke to the same effect. But Coifi added that he wished more attentively to hear Paulinus discourse concerning the God whom he preached. So the bishop having spoken by the king's command at greater length, Coifi, hearing his words, cried out: "I have long since been sensible that there was nothing in that which we worshiped, because the more diligently I sought after truth in that worship, the less I found it. But now I freely confess that such evident truth appears in this preaching as can confer on us the gifts of life, of salvation, and of eternal happiness. For which reason I advise, O king, that we instantly abjure and set fire to those temples and altars which we have consecrated without reaping any benefits from them."

In short, the king publicly gave his permission to Paulinus to preach the gospel, and, renouncing idolatry, declared that he received the faith of Christ: and when he inquired of the high priest who should first profane the altars and temples of their idols, with the inclosures that were about them, the

high priest answered, "I; for who can more properly than myself destroy those things which I worshiped through ignorance, for an example to all others, through the wisdom which has been given me by the true God?"

Then immediately, in contempt of his former superstitions, he desired the king to furnish him with arms and a stallion, and mounting the latter, he set out to destroy the idols; for it was not lawful before for the high priest either to carry arms or to ride on any beast but a mare. Having, therefore, girt on a sword and carrying a spear in his hand, he mounted the king's stallion and proceeded to the idols. The multitude, beholding him, concluded he was distracted; but he lost no time, for as soon as he drew near the temple he profaned the same, casting into it the spear which he held. And rejoicing in the knowledge of the worship of the true God, he commanded his companions to destroy the temple, with all its inclosures, by fire.

This place where the idols were is still shown, not far from York, to the eastward, beyond the river Derwent, and is now called Godmundingham; where the high priest, by the inspiration of the true God, profaned and destroyed the altars which he had himself consecrated.

42. The controversy between the Roman and Irish missionaries in regard to the time of Easter.

The Roman monks, sent by Gregory the Great, found that the Christian missionaries from Ireland observed Easter at a different time from that appointed by the Roman church. After years of controversy it was agreed that a synod should be held where the difficulty might be settled. Bede thus describes the arguments advanced by both sides and the victory of the Roman party:

[Bishop Colman spoke for the Scots (i.e. Irish) and said:] "The Easter which I keep I received from my elders, who sent me hither as bishop; all our forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have kept it after the same manner; and that this may not seem to any contemptible or worthy to be rejected, it is the same which St. John the Evangelist, the

disciple beloved of our Lord, with all the churches over which he presided, is recorded to have observed." . . .

Then Wilfrid was ordered by the king to speak for the Roman practice: "The Easter which we observe we saw celebrated by all at Rome, where the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, lived, taught, suffered, and were buried; we saw the same done in Italy and in France, when we traveled through those countries for pilgrimage and prayer. We found that Easter was celebrated at one and the same time in Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, and all the world, wherever the Church of Christ is spread abroad, through the various nations and tongues; except only among these and their accomplices in obstinacy, I mean the Picts and the Britons, who foolishly, in these two remote islands of the world, and only in part even of them, oppose all the rest of the universe. . . .

"You certainly sin if, having heard the decree of the apostolic see, and of the universal Church, and that the same is confirmed by Holy Writ, you refuse to follow them; for, though your fathers were holy, do you think that their small number, in a corner of the remotest island, is to be preferred before the universal Church of Christ throughout the world? And though that Columba[1] of yours (and, I may say, ours also, if he was Christ's servant) was a holy man and powerful in miracles, yet should he be preferred before the most blessed prince of the apostles, to whom our Lord said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven'?"

The king's decision in favor of the Roman Church.

When Wilfrid had spoken thus, the king said, "Is it true, Colman, that these words were spoken to Peter by our Lord?" He answered, "It is true, O king!" Then said he, "Can you show any such power given to your Columba?" Colman answered, "None." Then added the king, "Do both of you agree that these words were principally directed to Peter,

[1] An Irish missionary (d. 597); not to be confused with St. Columban, who carried the gospel to the Franks.

and that the keys of heaven were given to him by our Lord?" They both answered, "We do." Then the king concluded, "And I also say unto you, that he is the doorkeeper, whom I will not contradict, but will, as far as I know and am able, in all things obey his decrees, lest when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven there should be none to open them, he being my adversary who is proved to have the keys." The king having said this, all present, both great and small, gave their assent and, renouncing the more imperfect institution, resolved to conform to that which they found to be better.

V. Boniface and the Conversion of Germany

The following documents make clear the close relations between Boniface and the papacy.

43. Boniface commissioned by Pope Gregory II to preach the gospel to the heathen tribes (719) (condensed).

Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to the devout priest Boniface:

Knowing that thou hast from childhood been devoted to sacred letters, and that thou hast labored to reveal to unbelieving people the mystery of faith, . . . we decree in the name of the indivisible Trinity, through the unshaken authority of Peter, chief of the apostles, whose doctrine it is our charge to teach, and whose holy see is in our keeping, that, since thou seemest to glow with the salvation-bringing fire which our Lord came to send upon the earth, thou shalt hasten to whatsoever tribes are lingering in the error of unbelief, and shalt institute the rites of the kingdom of God. . . . And we desire thee to establish the discipline of the sacraments, according to the observance of our holy apostolic see.

44. Gregory II appoints Boniface the presiding bishop in Germany (722).

Gregory, pope, to our well-beloved bishops established in Bavaria and Alemannia:

. . . It is fitting that ye recognize our brother and fellow-bishop, Boniface, as our representative, and that ye receive him with due honor in the name of Christ. And ye shall maintain the ministry of the Church with the Catholic faith

according to the custom and precepts of the holy Catholic Apostolic Church; . . . And ye shall abhor the rites of the heathen, and the teaching of those coming from Britain and of false heretical priests. . . .

45. Oath taken by Boniface to the pope (722).

I, Boniface, bishop by the grace of God, promise to you, the blessed Peter, chief of the apostles, and to thy vicar, the blessed Pope Gregory, and to his successors, by the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, the indivisible Trinity, and by this thy most holy body, that, God helping me, I will maintain all the belief and the purity of the holy Catholic faith, and I will remain steadfast in the unity of this faith in which the whole salvation of Christians lies, as is established without doubt.

I will in no wise oppose the unity of the one universal Church, no matter who may seek to persuade me. But as I have said, I will maintain my faith and purity and union with thee and the benefits of thy Church, to whom God has given the power to loose and to bind, and with thy vicar and his successors, in all things. And if it comes to my knowledge that priests have turned from the ancient practices of the holy fathers, I will have no intercourse nor connection with them; but rather, if I can restrain them, I will. If I cannot, I will at once faithfully make known the whole matter to my apostolic lord.[1]

46. How Boniface destroyed the oak of Thor. (From Willibald's *Life of Boniface*, written before 786.)

Many of the people of Hesse were converted [by Boniface] to the Catholic faith and confirmed by the grace of the spirit: and they received the laying on of hands. But some there were, not yet strong of soul, who refused to accept wholly the teachings of the true faith. Some men sacrificed secretly, some even openly, to trees and springs. Some secretly practiced divining, soothsaying, and incantations, and some openly. But others, who were of sounder mind, cast aside all heathen profanation and did none of these things; and it

[1] This oath follows almost word for word that taken to the pope by the bishops in the immediate vicinity of Rome, who were under his special control.

was with the advice and consent of these men that Boniface sought to fell a certain tree of great size, at Geismar, and called, in the ancient speech of the region, the oak of Jove [i.e. Thor].

The man of God was surrounded by the servants of God. When he would cut down the tree, behold a great throng of pagans who were there cursed him bitterly among themselves because he was the enemy of their gods. And when he had cut into the trunk a little way, a breeze sent by God stirred overhead, and suddenly the branching top of the tree was broken off, and the oak in all its huge bulk fell to the ground. And it was broken into four parts, as if by the divine will, so that the trunk was divided into four huge sections without any effort of the brethren who stood by. When the pagans who had cursed did see this, they left off cursing and, believing, blessed God. Then the most holy priest took counsel with the brethren: and he built from the wood of the tree an oratory, and dedicated it to the holy apostle Peter.

The following account of the founding of the famous monastery of Fulda was written by Sturmi's disciple Eigil, who was abbot of Fulda during the years 818 to 822.

47. How the monastery of Fulda was founded in the German forest. (From the *Life of St. Sturmi.*)

[The holy and venerable archbishop Boniface came to Bavaria, and turned many people to the gospel of Christ. Among them a certain boy, Sturmi, son of noble and Christian parents, followed the teaching of Boniface and was ordained priest.] For almost three years he fulfilled the duties of the priesthood, preaching and baptizing among the people. Then by the inspiration of God the purpose came into his soul to chasten himself by the straiter life and the hardships of the wilderness. He sought counsel thereupon from Boniface, — his master in the spirit, — who, when he understood Sturmi, knew that this purpose was inspired of God and rejoiced that God had designed to lead him by his grace. He gave Sturmi two companions, and when he had prayed and blessed them all he said: "Go forth into that solitude which is called Bochonia and seek a place meet for

the servants of God to dwell in. For God is able to prepare for his servants a place in the wilderness."

And so those three went forth into the wilderness and entered into places solitary and rough, and saw almost nothing but heaven and earth and great trees; and they prayed Christ fervently that he would direct their feet in the path of peace. On the third day they came to the place which even to this day is called Hersfeld; and when they had seen and explored the region round about, they asked Christ that the place might be blest to the dwellers therein. On the very spot where the monastery now stands they built poor huts of the bark of trees. There they tarried many days, serving God with holy fasts and watching and prayer. . . .

Then after some time spent in holy meditation Sturmi returned to the bishop, and described the lay of the land and the course of the streams, and the hills and valleys. . . . Boniface heard him attentively, and answered: "I fear to have you dwell in this place which ye have found because a barbarous race lives close by, for, as thou knowest, the fell Saxons are near at hand. Wherefore seek a dwelling in the wilderness farther away and higher up the stream, where ye may remain without danger."

[Somewhat condensed.]

Then the holy man Sturmi returned to his companions. With two brethren he entered a boat and traveled along the river Fulda, spying out the land, but they found no place which pleased them. So Sturmi went again to Boniface and said, "For many days did we sail along the river Fulda, but we found nothing that we would dare to praise to you." And the holy bishop saw that God had not yet revealed the place which he had chosen.

Sturmi starts forth alone to discover a proper site for the monastery.

Sturmi returned to the cell which had now been built in a place above Hersfeld. Here he saluted the brethren and reported to them what the holy bishop had counseled. Then after resting a little he mounted his ass and set forth alone, commending his journey to Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life. All alone, sitting upon his ass, he began his journey through the vast places of the wilderness. He eagerly explored the region and observed with quick eye the

mountains and the hills and the plains, the springs and torrents and rivers. With psalms always upon his lips, he prayed to God with groaning, his soul lifted up to heaven. And wherever night found him, there he rested; and he hewed wood with the sword which he bore in his hand, and laid it in a circle, and set it on fire to protect his ass, lest the wild beasts which were there in great numbers might devour him. For himself, he made on his forehead the sign of the cross of Christ, in the name of God, and rested in safety. . . .

Once as he had paused at sunset, and was busied with preparing for the night, he heard a sound as of a living creature, but whether it was man or beast he knew not. . . . Then because the man of God did not wish to cry out, he struck a hollow tree with the sword he bore in his hand. And verily when the man had heard the sound of the blow he came thither, and spoke to Sturmi. And when the man of God asked him whence he came, he answered that he came from Wetteran and led in his hand the horse of Ortis, his lord. So they talked together and stayed there together that night. Now the man had a full acquaintance with the solitudes of the forest, and when the man of God made known to him what was in his mind and what he would fain do, he began to tell him the names of the places, and to show him how the torrents and springs did flow. . . . At sunrise they blessed each the other, and straightway the secular man went upon his way to Grapfelt. . . .

[And Sturmi also went on his way till he reached the torrent that even to this day is called Grezzibach.] He saw how the land lay, and what was the nature of the soil, and he tarried there a little space. And then he went back a little way and came to the place already made ready and blessed by God, even the place where the holy monastery [of Fulda] now stands. When he had come thither straightway the holy man Sturmi was filled with exceeding great joy, for he knew that through the merits and prayers of the holy bishop Boniface the place had been revealed to him by God.

Then on the second day the man of God came again to Hersfeld and found his brethren there calling upon God with

[This paragraph is condensed.]

fervent prayers. He told them of the place he had found and bade them make ready to go thither with him. But Sturmi went straightway to the holy bishop Boniface to tell him how he had found a place for the brethren to dwell in. Together they rejoiced and gave God thanks and held sweet converse about the life and conversation of monks. Then did the bishop let Sturmi go back to his wilderness, while he went to the palace of Carloman, the king, to gain from him a grant of the place Sturmi had chosen.

Boniface procures a charter from King Carloman for Fulda.

When Boniface came before the king, he said to him: "We have found in the wilderness called Bochonia, beside the river named Fulda, a place meet for the servants of God to dwell in, where before us no man has dwelt. It is under your sway, and we do beg of your beneficence to give us this place, so that we may be enabled to serve God under your protection." . . . Then did the king before all the lords of his palace give over to the bishop the place he had asked for, saying, "This place which thou seekest on the bank of the river Fulda I give over whole and entire from my law to the law of God — from that place in all directions in a circle four thousand paces toward east and west and north and south, ye shall hold the region."

Then the king gave command that a charter be written to this end, and he sealed it with his own hand.

The building of the monastery.

In the year of the incarnation of Christ 744, in the first month, the twelfth day of the month, while the brothers Carloman and Pippin were reigning over the Frankish people, did Sturmi arise, in the name of God, and with seven brethren he did go to the place where now the monastery stands. They prayed to the Lord Christ that he would ever protect and defend them by his power; and, serving God in sacred psalms and in fasts, vigils, and prayers by day and by night, they did busy themselves cutting down the forests and clearing the ground by their own labor so far as strength was given them.

When two months had passed by, and a multitude of men were gathered together, the reverend archbishop Boniface came unto them; and when he looked and saw the convenience and great resources of the place, he exulted in the

Holy Spirit, giving thanks and praising Christ because he had deigned to bestow upon his servants such a lodge in the wilderness. . . .

And the brethren decided to follow the rule of the holy father Benedict. They spent many years in holy pursuits; and the number of brethren in the monastery grew greater, for many men gave themselves and all that they had to serve God there. And the holy bishop was zealous to visit them from time to time; and he had compassion upon their poverty, and gave them some lands to furnish them necessary food. [Condensed.]

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The Lives of the Saints.

The chief sources for the monastic life and the missions are the Lives of the Saints. These are usually very unsatisfactory, for they were in most cases written, or rewritten, long after the death of those whose history they tell. Moreover, their authors did not write with a view of describing in detail the situation and conduct of their heroes. The main object was to edify the reader, or to glorify the founder of a monastery by reciting the miracles he performed. Every saint must, like Elijah, raise the dead or, like Jesus, heal the sick, walk on the waves, quiet tempests, and predict future events. (See Molinier, 94 *sqq.*, and Wattenbach, 7th ed., 124 *sqq.*)

Acta Sanctorum.

The greatest collection of the Lives of the Saints is the vast *Acta Sanctorum*, begun by the Jesuit, Bolland, in 1643. Although no less than sixty-two folio volumes have appeared in the past two hundred and sixty-five years, the series is not completed, and is now carried on with conscientious care by a group of Jesuit scholars, commonly known as the Bollandists, from the father of their enterprise.

The lives are not arranged *historically*, that is, in the order in which the saints lived, but follow the order of the saints' "days" as they appear in the church calendar.[1] Hence under January 5, for example, we find men as widely separated in time as St. Telesphorus (d. about 139), Simeon Stylites (d. 460), Edward the Confessor (d. 1066), and a certain St. Gerlach (d. about 1570).

A new and perhaps overcritical edition of the more important lives for the history of the Merovingian period, is in the course of publication in the *Monumenta*.

Of the Lives of the Saints for our period, the following in the *Monumenta* may be especially noted: That of St. Cæsarius of Arles (d. 542) was written almost immediately after his death; *Life of St. Columba* by ADAMNANUS, a contemporary (see above, section *B*); *Life of St. Columban* by the monk JONAS (see above, section *B*); *Life of St. Gall*, written in its original form before the end of the eighth century; WILLIBALD, *Life of St. Boniface*, written before 786; *Life of St. Sturmi*, abbot of Fulda (d. 779), by a succeeding abbot, EIGIL (d. 822) (see extracts given above, pp. 107 *sqq.*). German translations of the Lives of St. Gall, Boniface, Sturmi, and others of this period may be found in the *Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit.*

A very remarkable and weighty source is a collection of the letters of Boniface and his successor, Lull, in the *Monumenta.*

[1] The festival or "natal" day of a saint is usually the anniversary of his death, — his true birthday into eternal life.

CHAPTER VI

CHARLES MARTEL AND PIPPIN

I. The Koran

Singular origin of the Koran, the Bible of the Mohammedans.

Mohammed apparently suffered from a certain nervous disorder which is often accompanied by hallucinations. When about forty years of age, as he was engaged in meditation upon a solitary mountain near Mecca, the angel Gabriel appeared to him and uttered five verses, — the first of the revelations from heaven which were to compose the Koran. Similar messages came to him from time to time during his periods of nervous excitement. These he revealed to his friends and converts, who committed them to memory and, in some cases, wrote them down. It is probable that the prophet himself could neither read nor write.

At the time of his death no collection had as yet been made of these inspired utterances; they had only been recorded piecemeal on palm leaves, skins, shoulder blades of animals, and, above all, in the hearts of his followers. The early caliphs, realizing that the *Book of God* might otherwise be speedily lost, ordered that a man who had acted as Mohammed's amanuensis should collect and arrange the text. A second and more careful edition, made in 660, was sent to all the chief cities in the Mohammedan empire and has remained the authoritative text among all Mohammedans down to the present day.

The revelations were strung together without regard to the order in which Mohammed received them and with little or no attention to their contents. The longer *surahs* or chapters come first and then the short ones, although chronologically the shorter were the earlier. It is therefore not unnatural that the Koran should be confused and often obscure, and in an English version it is hard to perceive much of the marvelous eloquence which recommends it to the Arab mind.

It is chiefly made up of repeated assertions of God's unity and greatness and of the futility and wickedness of the worship of idols. There are frequent references to the last judgment, to heaven and its delights, to hell and the fate of those who stubbornly refuse to accept the Koran as the word of God, and Mohammed as his prophet. Many episodes from the Old and New Testaments are given here and there, such as the stories of Abraham, of Joseph, of Moses, of the birth of Jesus. Mohammed could hardly have been acquainted with the Bible at first hand, but must have gathered his knowledge of it from the Jews and Christians settled in Arabia. The Koran also embodies popular sayings and favorite legends current among the desert tribes long before the time of Mohammed. Some important rules of conduct are also laid down.

Lane-Poole's view of Mohammed's character.

"Mohammed had not lived among the sheepfolds in vain, and spent long solitary nights gazing at the silent heaven and watching the dawn break over the mountains. This earliest portion of the Koran is one long blazonry of nature's beauty. How can you believe in aught but the One omnipotent God when you see this glorious world around you and this wondrous tent of heaven above you?

is Mohammed's frequent question to his countrymen. 'All things in heaven and earth supplicate him; then which of the bounties of the Lord will ye deny?' . . .

"In conclusion, let us banish from our minds any conception of the Koran as a code of laws, or a systematic exposition of a creed. It is neither of these. Let us only think of a simple enthusiast confronted with many and varied difficulties, and trying to meet them as best he could by the inward light that guided him. The guidance was not perfect, we know, and there is much that is blameworthy in Mohammed; but whatever we believe of him, let it be granted that his errors were not the result of premeditated imposition, but were the mistakes of an ignorant, impressible, superstitious, but nevertheless noble and great man."

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

48. Passages from the Koran. The opening prayer.

Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds!
The Compassionate, the Merciful!
King of the day of judgment!
Thee we worship, and Thee we ask for help.
Guide us in the straight way,
The way of those to whom Thou art gracious;
Not of those upon whom is Thy wrath, nor of the erring.

The angel Gabriel extols the divine Word, which he reveals to Mohammed, and denounces unbelievers.

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. That is the book[1]! there is no doubt therein; a guide to the pious, who believe in the unseen, and are steadfast in prayer, and of what we have given them expend in alms; who believe in what is revealed to thee, and what was revealed before thee, and of the hereafter they are sure. These are in guidance from their Lord, and these are the prosperous.

[1] Namely, the book which Gabriel, the speaker, is revealing.

Verily, those who misbelieve, it is the same to them if ye warn them or if ye warn them not, they will not believe. God has set a seal upon their hearts and on their hearing; and on their eyes is dimness, and for them is grievous woe. There are, indeed, those among men who say, "We believe in God and in the last day"; but they do not believe. They would deceive God and those who do believe; but they deceive only themselves and they do not perceive. In their hearts is a sickness, and God has made them still more sick, and for them is grievous woe because they lied. . . .

And if ye are in doubt of what we have revealed unto our servant, then bring a chapter like it, and call your witnesses other than God if ye tell truth. But if ye do it not, and ye shall surely do it not, then fear the fire, whose fuel is men and stones, prepared for misbelievers. But bear the glad tidings to those who believe and work righteousness, that for them are gardens beneath which rivers flow. Whenever they are provided with fruit therefrom they say, "This is what we were provided with before, and they shall be provided with the like; and there are pure wives for them therein, and they shall dwell therein for aye." . . .

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

God's beautiful world.

Have we not made the earth as a bed?
And the mountains as tent-pegs?
And created you in pairs,
And made you sleep for rest,
And made the night for a mantle,
And made the day for bread-winning,
And built above you seven firmaments,
And put therein a burning lamp,
And sent down water pouring from the squeezed clouds
To bring forth grain and herb withal,
And gardens thick with trees?

Lo! the Day of Decision is appointed —
The day when there shall be a blowing of the trumpet, and ye shall come in troops,

And the heavens shall be opened, and be full of gates,
And the mountains shall be removed, and turn into mist.
Verily hell lieth in wait,
The goal for rebels,
To abide therein for ages;
They shall not taste therein coolness nor drink,
Save scalding water and running sores, —
A meet reward!
Verily they did not expect the reckoning,
And they denied our signs with lies;
But everything have we recorded in a book: —

Description of the bliss of heaven and the pains of hell.

When the earth shall be shaken in a shock,
And the mountains shall be powdered in powder,
And become like flying dust,
And ye shall be three kinds.

Then the people of the right hand — what people of good omen!
And the people of the left hand — what people of ill omen!
And the outstrippers, still outstripping: —
These are the nearest [to God],
In gardens of delight;
A crowd of the men of yore,
And a few of the latter days;
Upon inwrought couches,
Reclining thereon face to face.
Youths ever young shall go unto them round about
With goblets and ewers and a cup of flowing wine, —
Their heads shall not ache with it, neither shall they be confused;
And fruits of their choice,
And flesh of birds to their desire;
And damsels with bright eyes like hidden pearls, —
A reward for what they have wrought.
They shall hear no folly therein, nor any sin,
But only the greeting, "Peace! peace!"

And the people of the right hand — what people of good omen!
Amid thornless lote-trees,
And bananas laden with fruit,
And shade outspread,
And water flowing,
And fruit abundant,
Never failing, nor forbidden, . . .
But the people of the left hand — what people of ill omen! —
Amid burning wind and scalding water,
And a shade of black smoke,
Not cool or grateful!
Verily before that they were prosperous;
But they persisted in the most grievous sin,
And used to say,
"When we have died, and become dust and bones, shall we indeed be raised again,
And our fathers, the men of yore,"
Say: Verily those of yore and of the latter days
Shall surely be gathered to the trysting-place of a day which is known.
Then ye, O ye who err and call it a lie,
Shall surely eat of the tree of Zakkum,
And fill your bellies with it,
And drink upon it scalding water, —
Drink like the thirsty camel: —
This shall be their entertainment on the Day of Judgment!

Fighting for the faith better than prayers. (From the traditional sayings of Mohammed not included in the Koran.)

We came out with the prophet, with a part of the army, and a man passed by a cavern in which was water and verdure, and he said in his heart, "I shall stay here, and retire from the world." Then he asked the prophet's permission to live in the cavern; but he said, "Verily I have not been sent on the Jewish religion, nor the Christian, to quit the delights of society; but I have been sent on the religion inclining to truth, and that which is easy, wherein is no difficulty or austerity, I swear by God, in whose hand is my life, that marching about morning and evening to fight for religion

is better than the world and everything that is in it: and verily the standing of one of you in the line of battle is better than supererogatory prayers performed in your house for sixty years.

II. How Pippin, the First of the Carolingian Line, became King of France

The Franks in olden times were wont to choose their kings from the family of the Merovingians. This royal line is considered to have come to an end in the person of Childeric III, who was deposed from the throne by command of Stephen, the Roman pontiff; his long hair was cut off and he was thrust into a monastery.

49. The weakness of the later Merovingian kings. (From Einhard's *Life of the Emperor Charles.*)

Although the line of the Merovingians actually ended with Childeric, it had nevertheless for some time previously been so utterly wanting in power that it had displayed no mark of royalty except the empty kingly title.

All the resources and power of the kingdom had passed into the control of the prefects of the palace, who were called the "mayors of the palace,"[1] and who employed the supreme authority. Nothing was left to the king. He had to content himself with his royal title, his flowing locks, and long beard. Seated in a chair of state, he was wont to display an appearance of power by receiving foreign ambassadors on their arrival, and, on their departure, giving them, as if on his own authority, those answers which he had been taught or commanded to give.

Thus, except for his empty title, and an uncertain allowance for his subsistence, which the prefect of the palace used to furnish at his pleasure, there was nothing that the king could call his own, unless it were the income from a single farm, and that a very small one, where he made his home, and where such servants as were needful to wait on him constituted his scanty household. When he went anywhere he traveled in a wagon drawn by a yoke of oxen, with a rustic

[1] Maiores domus.

oxherd for charioteer. In this manner he proceeded to the palace, and to the public assemblies of the people held every year for the dispatch of the business of the kingdom, and he returned home again in the same sort of state. The administration of the kingdom, and every matter which had to be undertaken and carried through, both at home and abroad, was managed by the mayor of the palace.

50. Pope Zacharius authorizes the coronation of Pippin. (From *The Lesser Annals of Lorsch.*)

In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord, 750,[1] Pippin sent ambassadors to Pope Zacharias to ask his opinion in the matter of the kings of the Franks, who, though of the royal line, and called kings, enjoyed in truth no power in the realm except that official documents were issued in their name. Otherwise they were destitute of power, and did only what the mayor of the palace told them.

Only upon the day when the people, according to ancient usage, were wont to bring gifts to their sovereign on the March Field, did the king, surrounded by the army, sit in his chair, the mayor of the palace standing before him, and proclaim such laws as had been established by the Franks. The next day he returned home, and stayed there during the remainder of the year.

Pope Zacharias, therefore, in virtue of apostolic authority, told the ambassadors that he judged it better and more advantageous that he should be king and be called king who had the power rather than he who was falsely called king.

The said pontiff accordingly enjoined the king and the people of the Franks that Pippin, who already exercised the regal power, should be called king and raised to the throne.

And this was done by St. Boniface, the archbishop, who anointed him king in the city of Soissons. And so it came about that Pippin was called king, while Childeric, falsely called king, was shaven and sent to the monastery.

[1] It appears from other sources that it was in 752 — not 750 — that Pippin received the kingly crown from the hand of Boniface.

51. The coronation of Pippin by the pope. (From Einhard's *Annals*.)

(753) . . . In this year Pope Stephen [the successor of Zacharias] came to King Pippin in the town which is called Kiersey, to beg protection for himself and the Roman church from the attacks of the Lombards. . . .

(754) Pope Stephen, after King Pippin had assured him that he would defend the Roman church, consecrated him to the honor of the royal dignity, and with him his two sons, Karl and Carloman; and the pope spent that winter in Francia.

III. The Lombards, Pope Stephen, and King Pippin

Pope Stephen was driven, as we have seen, by the threatening attitude of the Lombards to visit the court of Pippin in search of help. The Frankish king, with the approbation of his councilors, made an expedition to Italy in 755, defeated the Lombards, and forced Aistulf, their king, to promise that he would return all the territory about Rome and never invade the region again. Yet Pippin had hardly recrossed the Alps when Aistulf broke his treaty and attacked Rome. The pope then appealed to Pippin, in successive letters, describing the devastation wrought by the Lombards and the desperate plight of the city. Of these letters the following is a sample:

52. A letter of Pope Stephen III describing the atrocities of the Lombards (756).

Pope Stephen to the most excellent lord, Pippin, our son and kinsman in the spirit, King of the Franks and Patrician of the Romans:

Woeful and bitter is the distress in which we find ourselves; our difficulties and anxieties are constantly increasing and call forth floods of tears. "Who could witness such tribulations and not mourn? Who could listen to our calamities and not bewail? . . .

We must believe, however, most Christian and excellent son, that all our sorrows are known to your Highness: how the treaties of peace have been broken by the accursed King Aistulf, how none of the stipulations have been observed even

when confirmed by the most solemn oath, how the Lombards have desolated all our lands and committed many murders. And now thou knowest, O most excellent son and spiritual kinsman, thou knowest what we would say with many tears and much sorrow of heart.

The very first of January all the army of this same Aistulf, king of the Lombards, gathered from the confines of Tuscany, against the city of Rome, and encamped close to the gate of the blessed apostle Peter and the gate of St. Pancratius and the Ostian gate. Then Aistulf himself joined his army, with further reënforcements, and pitched his tents beside the Salarian gate and other gates. And he drew up his army and said to us Romans: "Open to me the Salarian gate that I may enter the city; and deliver your pontiff into my hands. Then I will have mercy upon you. If you do not these things, I will destroy your walls, and put you to the sword. And I will see who can deliver you out of my hands." . . .

They have wasted with fire and sword, far and wide, all the lands outside the city, and have burned the churches of God, and have cast the most holy images of the saints into the fire, and destroyed them. And they have put that holy treasure, the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, into their own polluted vessels and, sated with abundance of meat, they ate this blessed treasure. The altar cloths and other ornaments of the churches of God — oh, too infamous to tell! — they bore away and used for their own purposes.

The monks, servants of God, who dwelt in mountains for the praise of God, they beat with many blows, and many of them they cut to pieces. And they seized nuns and recluses dedicated from their earliest years to the cloister, and subjected them to the most cruel abuses, so that some of them were seen to perish. They have cut off vines well-nigh to the roots, and have altogether destroyed the harvests. There is no chance of safety for the household of our holy church, nor for any one indeed who remains in the city of Rome. . . .

Now for five and fifty days they have besieged and surrounded on every side this afflicted city of Rome; and this

wicked Aistulf will kill us all with one sword. For so he has sworn with rage, and has cast this in our teeth: "Behold, you were surrounded by us and could not escape out of our clutches. Now let the Franks come and wrest you from our grasp." . . . Therefore hear me, O son — hear and help us. Behold, now is the time to save us. Save us lest we perish, O most Christian king!

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The whole Koran has been carefully translated by E. H. PALMER, 2 vols., 1880; but most readers will derive far more pleasure and profit from the extracts given in STANLEY LANE-POOLE, *Speeches and Table Talk of the Prophet Mohammad*, — a most charming little book, which helps one to feel the beauty of the poetical passages of the Koran.

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C. Materials for advanced study.

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CHAPTER VII

CHARLEMAGNE

I. Charlemagne, the Man

53. Charlemagne's personal appearance and habits. (From Einhard's *Life of Charles.*)

Charles was large and robust, of commanding stature and excellent proportions, for it appears that he measured in height seven times the length of his own foot. The top of his head was round, his eyes large and animated, his nose somewhat long. He had a fine head of gray hair, and his face was bright and pleasant; so that, whether standing or sitting, he showed great presence and dignity. Although his neck was thick and rather short, and his belly too prominent, still the good proportions of his limbs concealed these defects. His walk was firm, and the whole carriage of his body was manly. His voice was clear, but not so strong as his frame would have led one to expect.

His health was good until the last four years of his life, when he was attacked with frequent fevers, and latterly walked lame on one foot. Even then he relied more on his own judgment than on the advice of physicians, whom he almost hated because they used to recommend him to leave off roasted meats, which he preferred, and to accustom himself to boiled.

He took constant exercise in riding and hunting, which was natural for a Frank, since scarcely any nation can be found to equal them in these pursuits. He also delighted in the natural warm baths, frequently exercising himself by swimming, in which he was very skillful, no one being able to outstrip him. It was on account of the warm baths at Aix-la-Chapelle that he built his palace there and lived there constantly during the last years of his life and until his death. . . .

Charlemagne's preference in dress.

He wore the dress of his native country, that is, the Frankish; next his body a linen shirt and linen drawers; then a tunic with a silken border, and stockings. He bound his legs with garters and wore shoes on his feet. In the winter he protected his shoulders and chest with a vest made of the skins of otters and sable. He wore a blue cloak, and was always girt with his sword, the hilt and belt being of gold and silver. Sometimes he wore a jeweled sword, but he did so only on great festivals or when receiving foreign ambassadors.

He thoroughly disliked the dress of foreigners, however fine; and he never put it on except at Rome — once at the request of Pope Adrian, and again, a second time, to please Adrian's successor, Pope Leo. He then wore a long tunic, chlamys, and shoes made after the Roman fashion. On festivals he used to walk in processions clad in a garment woven with gold, and shoes studded with jewels, his cloak fastened with a golden clasp, and wearing a crown of gold set with precious stones. At other times his dress differed little from that of a private person.

Tastes and habits.

In his eating and drinking he was temperate; more particularly so in his drinking, for he had the greatest abhorrence of drunkenness in anybody, but more especially in himself and his companions. He was unable to abstain from food for any length of time, and often complained that fasting was injurious to him. On the other hand, he very rarely feasted, only on great festive occasions, when there were very large gatherings. The daily service of his table consisted of only four dishes in addition to the roast meat, which the hunters used to bring in on spits, and of which he partook more freely than of any other food.

While he was dining he listened to music or reading. History and the deeds of men of old were most often read. He derived much pleasure from the works of St. Augustine, especially from his book called *The City of God*. He partook very sparingly of wine and other drinks, rarely taking at meals more than three draughts. In summer, after the midday repast, he would take some fruit and one draught,

and then, throwing aside his clothes and shoes as at night, he would repose for two or three hours. He slept at night so lightly that he would break his rest four or five times, not merely by awaking, but even getting up.

While he was dressing and binding on his sandals, he would receive his friends; and also, if the count of the palace announced that there was any case which could only be settled by his decision, the suitors were immediately ordered into his presence, and he heard the case and gave judgment as if sitting in court. And this was not the only business that he used to arrange at that time, for he also gave orders for whatever had to be done on that day by any officer or servant.

Charlemagne's knowledge of the ancient languages.

He was ready and fluent in speaking, and able to express himself with great clearness. He did not confine himself to his native tongue, but took pains to learn foreign languages, acquiring such knowledge of Latin that he could make an address in that language as well as in his own. Greek he could better understand than speak. Indeed, he was so polished in speech that he might have passed for a learned man.

He was an ardent admirer of the liberal arts, and greatly revered their professors, whom he promoted to high honors. In order to learn grammar, he attended the lectures of the aged Peter of Pisa, a deacon; and for other branches

Alcuin.

he chose as his preceptor Albinus, otherwise called Alcuin, also a deacon, — a Saxon by race, from Britain, the most learned man of the day, with whom the king spent much time in learning rhetoric and logic, and more especially astronomy. He learned the art of determining the dates upon which the movable festivals of the Church fall, and with deep thought and skill most carefully calculated the courses of the planets.

Charlemagne never learned to write.

Charles also tried to learn to write, and used to keep his tablets and writing book under the pillow of his couch, that when he had leisure he might practice his hand in forming letters; but he made little progress in this task, too long deferred and begun too late in life.

II. Charlemagne and the Saxons

Now the Saxon race was cruel and very dangerous to all, and was much given over to pagan observances. But King Charles, always faithful to God, because he was most Christian, began to take thought how he might seek to win this people for Christ. He took counsel with the servants of God and besought their prayers that they might obtain their desire from God. Then he gathered a great army, and after he had called upon the name of Christ, he marched into Saxony. He took with him a host of priests and abbots, so that this race which, from the beginning of the world, had been bound by the chains of demons might bow to the yoke of the sweet and gentle Christ by believing in the holy doctrines.

54. The abbot of Fulda declares that Charlemagne conquered the Saxons in order to bring them to Christ. (From the *Life of St. Sturmi.*[1])

When the king had come into the land of the Saxons, he succeeded, partly by war, partly by persuasions, partly even by gifts, in turning great numbers of the people to the faith of Christ. And before long he divided the whole province into episcopal dioceses, and gave the servants of God authority to teach and to baptize.

At the beginning of the year [782], when supplies were plentiful and the army could be led into the field, the king decided to go into Saxony and to hold there a general assembly, as he was used to do every year in Francia. He crossed the Rhine at Cologne, and with the whole Frankish army came to the source of the Lippe, where he made a camp and remained for many days. He there heard and dismissed the ambassadors sent by Sigfried, king of the Danes, and those who had come from Caganus and Juggurus, chiefs of the Huns, to seek peace.

55. The rebellion of Widukind. (From the so-called *Annals of Einhard.*)

When the assembly was dissolved, and he had betaken himself across the Rhine into Gallia, Widukind, who had fled to the Northmen, returned to his fatherland, and with vain hopes aroused the Saxons to rebellion. In the meantime it was reported to the king that the Sorabi Slavs, who

[1] See above p. 107.

inhabit the region between the Elbe and the Saale, had invaded the lands of the Thuringians and Saxons, their neighbors, on a plundering expedition and had sacked and burned several places. He immediately summoned his three ministers, — Adalgis, his chamberlain; Geilo, his constable; and Woradus, the head of the palace, — ordered that they should take with them East Franks and Saxons and chastise forthwith the audacity of the unruly Slavs.

When the leaders of this force learned, upon entering the Saxon territory, that the Saxons, by Widukind's advice, were about to wage war on the Franks, they abandoned the campaign against the Slavs, and with the forces of the East Franks pushed forward to the place where they had heard the Saxons were massed. Count Theodoric, a kinsman of the king, hastened to join them in Saxony with all the forces he could collect hurriedly in Ripuaria after news reached him of the Saxon revolt. . . .

Then they all pushed forward to a mountain [situated on the southern bank of the river Weser], called Suntal. The camp of the Saxons lay on the northern side of this mountain. In this place Theodoric pitched his camp, while the leaders of the East Franks crossed the Weser and encamped on the river bank, to the end that they might easily join the forces of Theodoric and so surround the mountain.

Then did the leaders of the East Franks take counsel together: for they feared that the glory of victory might be given to Theodoric, if they had him with them in this battle. So they decided to attack the Saxons without him. They accordingly armed themselves, and each man rushed forward with his utmost speed, as fast as his horse could carry him, as if they were pursuing and plundering a fleeing foe rather than attacking an enemy drawn up in line of battle.

But the Saxons stood before their camp ready to meet the onslaught; and because the attack was ill planned it was ill fought. When they gave battle the Franks were surrounded by the Saxons and almost all of them were slain. Those who made good their escape fled for refuge, not to the camp whence they had gone forth, but to the camp of

Theodoric, which was on the other side of the mountain. The Frankish loss was greater than mere numbers, for two of the ambassadors, Adalgis and Geilo, were killed, also four counts, and twenty other noble and distinguished men, together with those who followed them, because they would rather die with them than live after them.

The massacre of Verden (782)

When the king heard of this disaster he decided not to delay, but made haste to gather an army, and marched into Saxony. There he called to his presence the chiefs of the Saxons, and inquired who had induced the people to rebel. They all declared that Widukind was the author of the treason, but said that they could not produce him because after the deed was done he had fled to the Northmen.

But the others who had carried out his will and committed the crime they delivered up to the king to the number of four thousand and five hundred; and by the king's command they were all beheaded in one day upon the river Aller in the place called Verden. When he had wreaked vengeance after this fashion, the king withdrew to the town of Diedenhofen for winter quarters, and there he celebrated the Nativity of our Lord and Easter as he was wont to do.

III. How Charlemagne was made Emperor

A.D. 799

56. Circumstances of Charlemagne's coronation as emperor. (From the so-called *Annals of Einhard.*)

As Pope Leo [III] was riding from the Lateran in Rome to service in the church of St. Lawrence, called "the Gridiron," he fell into an ambush which the Romans had set for him in the neighborhood of this church. He was dragged from off his horse and, as some would have it, his eyes put out, his tongue cut off, and he was then left lying in the street, naked and half dead. Afterward the instigators of this deed ordered that he should be taken into the monastery of the holy martyr Erasmus to be cared for. His chamberlain Albinus succeeded, however, in letting him down over the wall at night, whereupon Duke Winigis of Spoleto, who had hurried to Rome on hearing of this deed

Maltreatment of Pope Leo by the Romans.

of sacrilege, took him into his charge and carried him to Spoleto.

When the king [Charlemagne] received news of this occurrence, he gave orders that the Roman pope, the successor of St. Peter, should be brought to him, with all due honor. He did not, however, give up on this account the expedition into Saxony which he had undertaken. He held a general assembly at a place called Lippeham, on the Rhine; he then crossed the river and pushed on with his entire army to Paderborn, where he set up his camp and awaited the pope. In the meantime he sent his son Charles, with a part of the army, to the Elbe to settle certain matters with the Wilzer and Abodrites and to receive into his charge certain of the North Saxons.

Charlemagne reinstates Pope Leo.

While he was awaiting his son's return, the pope arrived, was honorably received, and remained several days with him. After he had laid before the king all the reasons for his coming, he was accompanied back to Rome by the king's ambassadors and reinstated in his authority there.

After the pope's departure, the king remained several days longer and finished his business with Daniel, ambassador of the Patrician Michael of Sicily. He received also the sad news of the undoing of Gerold and Eric; the one, Gerold, governor of Bavaria, lost his life in a battle with the Huns and was buried in Reichenau; the other, Eric, after many battles and brilliant victories, met his death through the treachery of the inhabitants of Tersat,[1] a town of Liburnia. When affairs in Saxony had been as well ordered as time would permit, the king returned again to Francia.

In the winter, which was spent in Aix-la-Chapelle, came Count Wido, count and governor of the border land of Brittany, who, during this year, and in alliance with other counts, had traversed the whole territory of the Bretons, and now brought to the king the arms of the dukes who had submitted themselves, with their several names inscribed thereon. It appeared at that time as if that whole country

[1] Near Fiume.

was completely subjugated; and so it would have been had not the fickleness of its faithless people soon changed all this, as usual.

Trophies of victory were also brought which had been taken from Moorish robbers killed on the island of Majorca. The Saracen, Azan, governor of Oska, sent to the king the keys of that city, together with other gifts, and promised to give the town over to him whenever opportunity should offer. Moreover, a monk came from Jerusalem, bringing to the king the blessing of the Patriarch and certain relics from the place of the resurrection of our Lord. The king spent Christmas in his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle. When the monk desired to return home, he gave him, as a companion, Zacharias, a priest of his palace, and sent, besides, pious gifts to the holy places.

A.D. 800

When spring came again, about the middle of March, the king left Aix-la-Chapelle and journeyed toward the coast of Gaul. Off this coast, which was being devastated by the piratical Northmen, he built and manned a fleet. Easter he celebrated in St. Riquier at the shrine of St. Richard. From here he traveled along the coast to the city of Rouen, where he crossed the Seine and betook himself to Tours in order to perform his devotions at the shrine of St. Martin. On account of the illness of his wife, Luitgarda, who died and was buried here, he was forced to remain some days in this place; she died on the 4th of June. From here he returned, by way of Orleans and Paris, to Aix-la-Chapelle; early in August he reached Mayence, where he held a diet and announced his intended journey to Italy.

From Mayence he went with his army to Ravenna, where he stayed only seven days and whence he dispatched his son Pippin, with the army, into the country of Beneventum. He and his son left Ravenna together, but at Ancona they parted company and he betook himself to Rome.

On the very day of his arrival Pope Leo went to meet him at Nomentum. He received the pope with great reverence,

and they dined together. Then he remained behind while the pope returned to the city in order that he might be waiting to receive him the next morning on the steps of St. Peter's, together with the bishops and all the clergy.

When he appeared and dismounted from his horse, the pope received him with gratitude and thanksgiving and conducted him into the church, while all the people glorified God in hymns of praise. This was on the 24th day of November. Seven days later, the king publicly proclaimed, in an assembly which he had called together, all the reasons why he had come to Rome, and thenceforth he labored daily to carry out all that he had come to do.

He began with the most serious and difficult matter, namely, the investigation into the offenses of which the pope had been accused. But since no one could be found who was willing to substantiate the charges, the pope, carrying the Gospels in his hand, mounted the pulpit in St Peter's and before all the people, and in the name of the Holy Trinity, took an oath to clear himself from the crimes imputed to him.

On the same day Zacharias, the priest whom the king had dispatched to Jerusalem, arrived at Rome with two monks sent to the king by the Patriarch. By way of a blessing, they brought with them the keys to the sepulcher of our Lord and to the place of Calvary, together with an ensign. The king received them graciously, kept them as his guests for some days, and when they were ready to return, dismissed them with gifts.

A.D. 801

On the most holy day of the birth of our Lord, the king went to mass at St. Peter's, and as he knelt in prayer before the altar Pope Leo set a crown upon his head, while all the Roman populace cried aloud, "Long life and victory to the mighty Charles, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans, crowned of God!" After he had been thus acclaimed, the pope did homage to him, as had been the custom with the early rulers, and henceforth he dropped the title of Patrician and was called Emperor and Augustus. . . .

IV. Charlemagne's Way of raising Troops

The following provisions are taken from three different capitularies issued after Charlemagne became emperor.

57. The *Heerbann*, or fine for refusing to join the army (801).

If any free man, out of contempt for our command, shall have presumed to remain at home when the others go to war, let him know that he ought to pay the full *hari bannum* according to the law of the Franks, — that is, sixty *solidi*. Likewise, also, for contempt of single capitularies which we have promulgated by our royal authority, — that is, any one who shall have broken the peace decreed for the churches of God, widows, orphans, wards, and the weak shall pay the fine of sixty *solidi*.

Concerning deserters.

If any one shall have shown himself so contumacious or haughty as to leave the army and return home without the command or permission of the king, — that is, if he is guilty of what we call in the German language *herisliz*,[1] — he himself, as a criminal, shall incur the peril of losing his life, and his property shall be confiscated for our treasury.

58. The wealthier landholders are required to go to the army in person; the poorer, to help equip a soldier (808).

Every free man who has four *mansi*[2] of his own property, or as a benefice from any one, shall equip himself and go to the army, either with his lord, if the lord goes, or with his count. He who has three *mansi* of his own property shall be joined to a man who has one *mansus*, and shall aid him so that he may serve for both. He who has only two *mansi* of his own property shall be joined to another who likewise has two *mansi*, and one of them, with the aid of the other, shall go to the army. He who has only one *mansus* of his own shall be joined to one of three men who have the same and shall aid him, and the latter shall go alone; the three who have aided him shall remain at home.

59. Nature of the supplies for the army.

Concerning going to the army: the count in his county under penalty of the ban, and each man under penalty of

[1] This capitulary was addressed to Charlemagne's officials in Italy.

[2] A *mansus* contained about 135 acres.

sixty *solidi*, shall go to the army, so that they come to the appointed muster at that place where it is ordered. And the count himself shall see in what manner they are prepared; that is, each one shall have a lance, shield, bow with two strings, and twelve arrows. And the bishops, counts, and abbots shall oversee their own men and shall come on the day of the appointed muster and there show how they are prepared.

The equipments of the king shall be carried in carts, also the equipments of the bishops, counts, abbots, and nobles of the king; flour, wine, pork, and victuals in abundance, mills, adzes, axes, augers, slings, and men who know how to use these well. And the marshals of the king shall add stones for these on twenty beasts of burden, if there is need. And each one shall be prepared for the army and shall have plenty of all utensils. And each count shall save two parts of the fodder in his county for the army's use, and he shall maintain good bridges and good boats.

60. Charlemagne's letter to Abbot Fulrad, summoning him to join the muster.

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Charles, serene and august, crowned by God great and pacific Emperor, and by God's mercy King of the Franks and the Lombards, to Fulrad the Abbot:

Be it known to you that we have decided to hold our general assembly for this year in the eastern part of Saxony, on the river Bode, at the place which is called Strassfurt. Wherefore we do command thee that thou come to this place with thy full quota of men, well armed and equipped, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of July, which is seven days before the feast of St. John the Baptist. Then shalt thou come to the aforesaid place, with thy men ready, so that thou canst go in military array in any direction whither our command shall send thee.

Thou shalt have arms and gear, and warlike instruments, and food and clothing. Each horseman shall have a shield, lance, sword, dagger, bow, and quivers with arrows. In the carts ye shall have implements of divers kinds: axes, planes, augers, boards, spades, iron shovels, and other tools of which

an army has need. In the carts you must also have supplies of food for three months, dating from the time of the assembly, and arms and clothing for a half year. We order you to attend carefully to all these things so that you may proceed peacefully to the aforesaid place. For through whatever part of our realm your journey shall take you, you shall not presume to take anything but fodder, food, and water. Let the men of each one of your vassals march along with the carts and horsemen, and let the leader always be with them until they reach the aforesaid place, so that the absence of a lord may not give to his men an opportunity of doing evil. . . .

V. Charlemagne's Income from his Farms

61. Extracts from the *Capitulary de Villis*, issued in the year 800 or earlier.

We desire that each steward shall make an annual statement of all our income, giving an account of our lands cultivated by the oxen which our own plowmen drive and of our lands which the tenants of farms ought to plow; of the pigs, of the rents, of the obligations and fines; of the game taken in our forests without our permission; of the various compositions; of the mills, of the forest, of the fields, of the bridges and ships; of the free men and the districts under obligations to our treasury; of markets, vineyards, and those who owe wine to us; of the hay, firewood, torches, planks, and other kinds of lumber; of the waste lands; of the vegetables, millet, panic; of the wool, flax, and hemp; of the fruits of the trees; of the nut trees, larger and smaller; of the grafted trees of all kinds; of the gardens; of the turnips; of the fish ponds; of the hides, skins, and horns; of the honey and wax; of the fat, tallow, and soap; of the mulberry wine, cooked wine, mead, vinegar, beer, and wine, new and old; of the new grain and the old; of the hens and eggs; of the geese; of the number of fishermen, workers in metal, sword makers, and shoemakers; of the bins and boxes; of the turners and saddlers; of the forges and mines, — that is, of iron, lead, or other substances; of the colts and fillies. They shall make all these known to us, set forth separately and in

order, at Christmas, so that we may know what and how much of each thing we have.

The greatest care must be taken that whatever is prepared or made with the hands, — that is, bacon, smoked meat, sausage,[1] partially salted meat, wine, vinegar, mulberry wine, cooked wine, garum,[2] mustard, cheese, butter, malt, beer, mead, honey, wax, flour, — all should be prepared and made with the greatest cleanliness.

Each steward on each of our domains shall always have, for the sake of ornament, peacocks, pheasants, ducks, pigeons, partridges, and turtle-doves.

In each of our estates the chambers shall be provided with counterpanes, cushions, pillows, bedclothes, coverings for the tables and benches; vessels of brass, lead, iron, and wood; andirons, chains, pothooks, adzes axes, augers, cutlasses, and all other kinds of tools, so that it shall never be necessary to go elsewhere for them, or to borrow them. And the weapons which are carried against the enemy shall be well cared for, so as to keep them in good condition; and when they are brought back they shall be placed in the chamber.

For our women's work they are to give at the proper time, as has been ordered, the materials, — that is, the linen, wool, woad, vermilion, madder, wool combs, teasels, soap, grease, vessels, and the other objects which are necessary.

Of the kinds of food not forbidden on fast days, two thirds shall be sent each year for our own use, — that is, of the vegetables, fish, cheese, butter, honey, mustard, vinegar, millet, panic, dried and green herbs, radishes, and, in addition, of the wax, soap, and other small products; and let it be reported to us, by a statement, how much is left, as we have said above; and this statement must not be omitted as in the past, because after those two thirds we wish to know how much remains.

[1] Some of the many names of products here given are of uncertain meaning.

[2] A kind of drink made of salt fish.

Each steward shall have in his district good workmen, namely, blacksmiths, a goldsmith, a silversmith, shoemakers, turners, carpenters, sword makers, fishermen, foilers, soap makers, men who know how to make beer, cider, perry, or other kind of liquor good to drink, bakers to make pastry for our table, net makers who know how to make nets for hunting, fishing, and fowling, and other sorts of workmen too numerous to be designated.

VI. Charlemagne's Ideals of Government

In the elaborate instructions for the *missi* we have the fullest statement of the tasks of government which devolved upon Charlemagne, and of the various offenses which he foresaw and for which he deemed it especially necessary to provide.

62. Extracts from the general capitulary for the *missi* (802).

The most serene and most Christian lord emperor Charles has chosen from his nobles the wisest and most prudent men, archbishops and some of the other bishops also, together with venerable abbots and pious laymen, and has sent them throughout his whole kingdom; through them he would have all the various classes of persons mentioned in the following sections live strictly in accordance with the law. Moreover, where anything which is not right and just has been enacted in the law, he has ordered them to inquire into this most diligently and to inform him of it; he desires, God granting, to reform it.

And let no one, through cunning craft, dare to oppose or thwart the written law, as many are wont to do, or the judicial sentence passed upon him; or to do injury to the churches of God, or the poor, or the widows, or the wards, or any Christian. But all shall live entirely in accordance with God's precept, justly and under a just rule, and each one shall be admonished to live in harmony with his fellows in his business or profession. The canonical clergy ought to observe in every respect a canonical life without heeding

base gain; nuns ought to keep diligent watch over their lives; laymen and the secular clergy ought rightly to observe their laws without malicious fraud; and all ought to live in mutual charity and perfect peace.

General duties of the *missi*.

And let the *missi* themselves make a diligent investigation whenever any man claims that an injustice has been done to him by any one, just as they desire to deserve the grace of omnipotent God and to keep their fidelity pledged to him, so that in all cases, everywhere, they shall, in accordance with the will and fear of God, administer the law fully and justly in the case of the holy churches of God and of the poor, of wards and widows, and of the whole people. And if there shall be anything of such a nature that they, together with the provincial counts, are not able of themselves to correct it and to do justice concerning it, they shall, without any reservations, refer this, together with their reports, to the judgment of the emperor. The straight path of justice shall not be impeded by any one on account of flattery or gifts, or on account of any relationship, or from fear of the powerful.

All required to take an oath of fidelity to Charlemagne as emperor.

Concerning the fidelity to be promised to the lord emperor: he has commanded that every man in his whole kingdom, whether ecclesiastic or layman, each according to his vow and occupation, shall now pledge to him as emperor the fidelity which he has previously promised to him as king; and all of those who have not yet taken any oath shall do likewise, down to those who are twelve years old.

What the oath to the emperor included.

And that it shall be announced to all in public, so that each one may know, how great and how many things are comprehended in that oath; not merely, as many have thought hitherto, fidelity to the lord emperor as regards his life, and not introducing any enemy into his kingdom out of enmity, and not consenting to, or concealing another's faithlessness to him; but that all may know that this oath contains in itself the following meaning:

First, that each one voluntarily shall strive, in accordance with his knowledge and ability, to live entirely in the holy service of God in accordance with the precept of God and in

accordance with his own promise, because the lord emperor is unable to give to all individually the necessary care and discipline.

Secondly, that no man, either through perjury or any other wile or fraud, or on account of the flattery or gift of any one, shall refuse to give back or dare to abstract or conceal a serf of the lord emperor, or a district, or land, or anything that belongs to him; and that no one shall presume, through perjury or other wile, to conceal or abstract his fugitive serfs belonging to the fisc, who wrongly and fraudulently claim that they are free.

That no one shall presume to rob or in any way do injury fraudulently to the churches of God, or to widows or orphans or pilgrims; for the lord emperor himself, after God and his saints, has constituted himself their protector and defender.

That no one shall dare to lay waste a benefice of the lord emperor, or to make it his own property.

That no one shall presume to neglect a summons to war from the lord emperor; and that no one of the counts shall be so presumptuous as to dare to excuse any one of those who owe military service, either on account of relationship, or flattery, or gifts from any one.

That no one shall presume to impede in any way a ban or command of the lord emperor, or to dally with his work, or to impede or to lessen or in any way to act contrary to his will or commands. And that no one shall dare to neglect to pay his dues or tax.

That no one, for any reason, shall make a practice in court of defending another unjustly, either from any desire of gain when the cause is weak, or by impeding a just judgment by his skill in reasoning, or by a desire of oppressing when the cause is weak. . . .

The oath to the emperor should include the observance of all those things mentioned above.

Duties of the prelates.

Bishops and priests shall live according to the canons and shall teach others to do the same.

Bishops, abbots, and abbesses, who are in charge of others, shall strive with the greatest devotion to surpass those subject to them in this diligence and shall not oppress those subject to them with a harsh rule of tyranny, but with sincere love shall carefully guard the flock committed to them with mercy and charity and by the examples of good works. . . .

Duties of the monks

The monks shall live sincerely and strictly in accordance with the rule, because we know that any one whose good will is lukewarm is displeasing to God, as John bears witness in the Apocalypse: "I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth." Let them in no way usurp to themselves secular business. They shall not have leave to go outside of their monastery at all, unless compelled by a very great necessity; but the bishop in whose diocese they are shall take care in every way that they do not get accustomed to wandering outside of the monastery. But if it shall be necessary for a monk to go outside in obedience to a command, this shall be done with the counsel and consent of the bishop. Such persons shall be sent out with a certificate, that there may be no suspicion of evil in them and that no evil report may arise from them.

To manage the property and business outside of the monastery, the abbot, with the permission and counsel of the bishop, shall appoint some person who is not a monk, but another of the faithful. Let the monks wholly shun secular gain or a desire for worldly affairs; for avarice or a desire for this world ought to be avoided by all Christians, but especially by those who claim to have renounced the world and its lusts. Let no one presume in any way to incite strife or controversies, either within or without the monastery. But if any one shall have presumed to do so, he shall be corrected by the most severe discipline of the rule, and in such a manner that others shall fear to commit such actions. Let them entirely shun drunkenness and feasting, because it is known to all that these give rise to lust. . . .

The clergy shall not hunt.

Let no bishops, abbots, priests, deacons, or other members of the clergy presume to keep dogs for hunting, or

hawks, falcons, and sparrow hawks, but each shall observe fully the canons or rule of his order. If any one shall presume to violate this order, let him know that he shall lose his office; and in addition he shall suffer such punishment for his offense that the others will be afraid to appropriate such things for themselves. . . .

All shall provide for the stranger.

And we command that no one in our whole kingdom shall dare to deny hospitality either to rich or poor, or to pilgrims; that is, no one shall deny shelter and fire and water to pilgrims traversing our country in God's name, or to any one traveling for the love of God or for the safety of his own soul. If, moreover, any one shall wish to serve them farther, let him expect the best reward from God, who himself said, "And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me"; and elsewhere, "I was a stranger, and ye took me in."

The counts to aid the *missi*.

Concerning messengers coming from the lord emperor: the counts and *centenarii* shall provide most carefully, as they desire the grace of the lord emperor, for the *missi* who are sent out, so that they may go through their provinces without any delay. The emperor commands all, everywhere, to see to it that the *missi* are not hindered anywhere, but are sent forward with the utmost dispatch and provided with such things as they may require. . . .

No one to disturb the royal game.

In our forests no one shall dare to steal our game. This has already been many times forbidden; we now again strictly forbid it for the future. If one would keep his fidelity pledged to us, let him take heed to his conduct. . . .

Various purposes of the orders sent out by the *missi*.

Finally, we desire that all our commands should be made known throughout our whole realm by means of the *missi* now sent forth, whether these commands be directed to those connected with the Church — bishops, abbots, priests, deacons, canons, monks or nuns — with a view of securing the observance of our ban or decrees, or whether we would duly thank the citizens for their good will, or request them to furnish aid, or to correct some matter. . . .

VII. Charlemagne's Anxiety to improve Education

Charlemagne's attitude toward the ignorance of many of the churchmen of his time and his appreciation of the advantages of elementary education are most fully expressed in a famous letter written some time between 780 and 800.

63. Charlemagne's letter on the dangers of ignorance.

Charles, by the grace of God, King of the Franks and Lombards and Patrician of the Romans, to Abbot Baugulf, and to all the congregation, also to the faithful committed to you, we have directed a loving greeting by our messengers in the name of omnipotent God:

Be it known, therefore, to your Devotion pleasing to God, that we, together with our faithful, have considered it to be expedient that the bishoprics and monasteries intrusted by the favor of Christ to our government, in addition to the rule of monastic life and the intercourse of holy religion, ought to be zealous also in the culture of letters, teaching those who by the gift of God are able to learn, according to the capacity of each individual; so that just as the observance of the monastic rule imparts order and grace to moral conduct, so also zeal in teaching and learning may do the same for the use of words, so that those who desire to please God by living rightly should not neglect to please him also by speaking correctly. For it is written, "Either from thy words thou shalt be justified, or from thy words thou shalt be condemned."

Although it is better to *do* the right than *know* it, nevertheless knowledge should precede action. Therefore, each one ought to study what he would accomplish, so that the mind may the better know what ought to be done, if the tongue utters the praises of omnipotent God without the hindrances of errors. For if errors should be shunned by all men, so much the more ought they to be avoided, as far as possible, by those who are chosen for the very purpose that they may be the servants of truth.

Yet, in recent years, when letters have been written to us from various monasteries to inform us that the brethren who dwelt there were offering up in our behalf holy and pious prayers, we noted in most of these letters correct thoughts but uncouth expressions; for what pious devotion dictated faithfully to the mind, the tongue, uneducated on account of the neglect of study, was not able to express without error. We, therefore, began to fear lest perchance, as the skill in writing was wanting, so also the wisdom for understanding the Holy Scriptures might be much less than it rightly ought to be. And we all know well that, although errors of speech are dangerous, far more dangerous are errors of the understanding.

Therefore, we exhort you not only not to neglect the study of letters, but also with most humble mind, pleasing to God, to pursue it earnestly in order that you may be able more easily and more correctly to penetrate the mysteries of the divine Scriptures. Since, moreover, figures of speech, tropes, and the like are found in the sacred pages, it cannot be doubted that in reading these one will understand the spiritual sense more quickly if previously he shall have been fully instructed in the mastery of letters. Such men truly are to be chosen for this work as have both the will and the ability to learn and a desire to instruct others. And may this be done with a zeal as great as the earnestness with which we command it.

One of the chapters addressed to the clergy in a general "admonition" issued in 789 supplements the preceding letter as follows:

64. Charlemagne commands that schools be established by the bishops and in the monasteries.

. . . Let the ministers of the altar of God adorn their ministry by good manners, and likewise the other orders who observe a rule, and the congregations of monks. We implore them to lead a just and fitting life, just as God himself commanded in the gospel. "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven," so that by our

example many may be led to serve God. Let them join and associate to themselves not only children of servile condition, but also sons of freemen. And let schools be established in which boys may learn to read. Correct carefully the Psalms, the signs in writing, the songs, the calendar, the grammar, in each monastery or bishopric, and the Catholic books; because often men desire to pray to God properly, but they pray badly because of the incorrect books. And do not permit mere boys to corrupt them in reading or writing. If there is need of writing the Gospel, Psalter, and Missal, let men of mature age do the writing with all diligence.

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The sources.

In the times of Charles Martel and Pippin a new kind of historical source makes its appearance, — the *annals*. These had a peculiar origin.

Origin of the annals.

The day upon which the great Christian festival of Easter fell each year was a matter of the utmost importance to all the monasteries and churches; but the time varies in such a way that it is little wonder that the monks and churchmen of the eighth century were commonly unable to master the rules for determining the recurrence of the festival. Tables of the dates of Easter were therefore prepared and were welcomed everywhere. The wide margins invited a brief record opposite each year, of some occurrence which had made the year memorable in the particular abbey or the neighboring region.

Rude and trivial as these entries often were, they tended to grow fuller as the eighth century advanced, and now serve to establish the dates of many important events. These scanty histories were, however,

often taken from monastery to monastery, copied, combined, and continued in such a way that errors and inconsistencies crept in which have greatly puzzled scholars in our own day.

The annals are sometimes named from the abbey where a copy was found, although, as in the case of the *Greater Annals of Lorsch*, they may not have originated there; or they may be named for the person who discovered a copy, or from the region to which they oftenest refer and where it is assumed that they were written.

The *Royal Annals.*

By far the most important of the annals for Charlemagne's time are the so-called *Royal Annals.* These were apparently drawn up by persons who resided at the king's court; for the writers were evidently devoted to the interests of the reigning family, and were in a position to follow closely the course of public events. The *Royal Annals* cover the period from 741 to 829 and are the work of several chroniclers. In the first place, some unknown ecclesiastic undertook, apparently about 787, to bring together as full an account as he could of the deeds of Charlemagne's house since the death of Charles Martel (741). This was the origin of the so-called *Greater Annals of Lorsch.* These were later brought down to 801. The work was then rewritten in better Latin and considerably modified, and a continuation was added, bringing the history down to 829.

Annals of Einhard.

This revision, together with the continuation, was long attributed to Einhard, Charlemagne's secretary, but many scholars now agree in thinking that if Einhard had a hand in the work at all he was only one of several writers.

See a discussion of the annals in general in WATTENBACH, pp. 154 *sqq.*; for the *Royal Annals*, pp. 210 *sqq.* See also MOLINIER, pp. 211–215 and 224 *sqq.* (The text of the various early annals including the *Royal* is in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.* A better edition of the *Royal Annals* in octavo edition (1895); translation in the *Geschichtschreiber.*)

The capitularies.

The laws, the so-called *capitularies*, issued by Charlemagne, are of great importance to one who wishes to form an idea of his government and the conditions within his empire. There is a recent edition of the capitularies in the *Monumenta*, edited by BORETIUS, 1883 *sq.*

EINHARD'S *Vita Caroli* may be found in the octavo edition of the *Monumenta;* also edited by HOLDER, Freiburg, 1882 (60 Pf.). For English translation, see above, section *B.* "Einhard," says Ranke, "enjoyed singular good fortune in finding in his great contemporary the most worthy subject for an historical work. Out of gratitude he erected a monument to one to whom he was peculiarly indebted for his early education, and thereby provided that he himself should be remembered for all time."

The *Codex Carolinus* is a collection, made by Charlemagne's orders, of the letters addressed to him and his father by the popes. (It may be found in JAFFÉ, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum* and better in the *Monumenta*.)

The Monk of St. Gall.

From the diverting tales of Charlemagne, told by the Monk of St. Gall, seventy years after the emperor's death, we can form an idea of the fabulous proportions which that hero had already assumed in the minds of posterity. (In the *Monumenta;* newer edition in JAFFÉ, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, Vol. IV ; translated in the *Geschichtschreiber* and in Guizot's *Collection*.)

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CHAPTER VIII

THE DISRUPTION OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

I. The Northmen

For centuries the German peoples of the North harassed the coasts of the North Sea and often extended their invasions far inland. In one of the letters of Apollinaris Sidonius[1] we have a vivid picture of the Saxons about the time that they were getting their foothold in England in the middle of the fifth century. At the end of a long letter to a friend, Sidonius says:

65. Apollinaris Sidonius describes the Saxon pirates of the fifth century.

Behold, when I was on the point of concluding this epistle, in which I have already chattered on too long, a messenger suddenly arrived from Saintonge with whom I have spent some hours in conversing about you and your doings. He affirms that you have just sounded your trumpet on board the fleet, and that, combining the duties of a sailor and a soldier, you are roaming along the winding shores of the ocean, looking out for the curved pinnaces of the Saxons. When you see the rowers of that nation you may at once make up your mind that every one of them is an arch-pirate; with such wonderful unanimity do all at once command, obey, teach, and learn their one chosen business of brigandage. For this reason I ought to warn you to be more than ever on your guard in this warfare.

Our enemy is the most truculent of all enemies. Unexpectedly he attacks; when expected he escapes; he despises those who seek to block his path, he overthrows those who are off their guard; he always succeeds in cutting off the

[1] See above, pp. 58 *sq.*

enemy whom he follows, while he never fails when he desires to effect his own escape. Moreover, to these men a shipwreck is capital practice rather than an object of terror. The dangers of the deep are to them not casual acquaintances but intimate friends. For since a tempest throws the invaded off their guard and prevents the invaders from being descried from afar, they hail with joy the crash of waves on the rocks, which gives them their best chance of escaping from other enemies than the elements.

The Monk of St. Gall[1] gives us some idea of the attitude of the Northmen toward the rites of the Christian religion.

66. A Northman's baptism. (From the Monk of St. Gall's *Deeds of Charles the Great.*)

Speaking of the Northmen, I will illustrate their esteem for the faith, and for baptism, by telling an anecdote of the days of our grandfathers. This terrible people, who had stood in awe of the great Emperor Charles and paid him tribute, continued after his death to exhibit to his son Louis [the Pious] the respect they had shown his father. After a time the pious emperor had compassion upon their ambassadors, and asked them whether they would accept the Christian faith. They answered that they were ready to obey him in all things, always and everywhere. He then commanded that they be baptized in his name of whom the learned Augustine said: "If there were no Trinity, the Truth itself would not have said, 'Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'"

The Northmen were treated like adopted sons by the chief lords of the court. They received from the king's closet the white baptismal robe, and from their sponsors the Frankish dress — costly garments, and weapons, and ornaments.

This custom was followed for a long time. The Northmen came year after year in even greater numbers, not for Christ's sake, but for worldly gain. They did not come now

[1] See above, p. 149.

as ambassadors; but as submissive vassals they hastened at the holy Eastertide to do homage to the emperor. Finally one year they came fifty strong. The emperor asked them whether they would be baptized. They assented, and he commanded that they be straightway sprinkled with holy water. There were not enough linen robes, so the emperor had more garments cut out and sewed up roughly like a bag or towel.

One of these robes was suddenly put upon one of the oldest of the Northmen. He looked at it awhile with critical eyes, and grew not a little angry. Then he said to the emperor: "I have been baptized here twenty times before, and every time I was clad in the best and whitest garments; and now you give me a sack which befits a swineherd rather than a warrior. I have given up my own garments and would be ashamed of my nakedness if I cast aside this one also, else I would leave thy robe to thee and thy Christ."

The Norse *sagas* give us the Northman's idea of himself and his people.

In the extracts from the Annals given below there are plenty of sad pictures of the Northmen as pirates and cruel invaders, but to gain an idea of how they viewed themselves, we must turn to the Norse *sagas*. About the time that Charles the Fat was bargaining with the Northmen in France, many belonging to the same race were streaming over from Norway to Iceland. Here it was that the Norse literature sprang up — the *sagas*, or tales, which still delight the reader in something the same way that Homer does. Of these *sagas* the finest is perhaps *The Story of Burnt Njal*, who lived in the time of Otto the Great. The famous tale opens as follows:

67. Opening of *The Story of Burnt Njal*.

There was a man named Mord whose surname was Fiddle; he was the son of Sigvat the Red, and he dwelt at the "Vale" in the Rangrivervales. He was a mighty chief, and a great taker up of suits, and so great a lawyer that no

judgments were thought lawful unless he had a hand in them. He had an only daughter named Unna. She was a fair, courteous, and gifted woman, and was thought the best match in all the Rangrivervales.

Now the story turns westward to the Broadfirth dales, where, at Hauskuldstede, in Laxriverdale, dwelt a man named Hauskuld, who was Dalakoll's son, and his mother's name was Thorgerda. He had a brother named Hrut, who dwelt at Hrutstede; he was of the same mother as Hauskuld, but his father's name was Heriolf. Hrut was handsome, tall and strong, well skilled in arms, and mild of temper; he was one of the wisest of men — stern towards his foes, but a good counselor on great matters.

It happened once that Hauskuld bade his friends to a feast, and his brother Hrut was there, and sat next him. Hauskuld had a daughter named Hallgerda, who was playing on the floor with some other girls. She was fair of face and tall of growth, and her hair was as soft as silk; it was so long, too, that it came down to her waist. Hauskuld called out to her, "Come hither to me, daughter." So she went up to him, and he took her by the chin, and kissed her; and after that she went away.

Then Hauskuld said to Hrut, "What dost thou think of this maiden? Is she not fair?" Hrut held his peace. Hauskuld said the same thing to him a second time, and then Hrut answered, "Fair enough is this maid, and many will smart for it, but this I know not, whence thief's eyes have come into our race." Then Hauskuld was wroth, and for a time the brothers saw little of each other.

Gunnar visits Denmark.

[Gunnar, who is one of the chief personages in the story, has been on a successful sea-roving expedition, during which he has shown much prowess and won much booty. Before returning home he visits Denmark, where the fame of his deeds has preceded him. He is summoned to the court of King Harold, Gorm's son, who offers to get him a wife and to raise him to great power if he will settle down there.] Gunnar thanked the king for his offer and said, "I will first of all sail back to Iceland to see my friends and kinsfolk."

"Then thou wilt never come back to us," says the king. "Fate will settle that, Lord," says Gunnar.

Gunnar gave the king a good long-ship, and much goods besides, and the king gave him a robe of honor and golden-seamed gloves, and a fillet with a knot of gold on it, and a Russian hat.

Gunnar woos Hallgerda.

[On his return to Iceland Gunnar visited the *Althing*, the annual general assembly of the people.] It happened one day that Gunnar went away from the Hill of Laws and passed by the booths of the men from Mossfell; then he saw a woman coming to meet him, and she was in goodly attire; but when they met she spoke to Gunnar at once. He took her greeting well, and asked what woman she might be. She told him that her name was Hallgerda, and said that she was the daughter of Hauskuld, Dalakoll's son. She spoke up boldly to him, and bade him tell her of his voyages; and he said that he would not gainsay her a talk. Then they sat them down and talked. She was so clad that she had on a red kirtle, and had thrown over her a scarlet cloak trimmed with needlework down to the waist. Her hair came down to her bosom, and was both fair and full. Gunnar was clad in the scarlet clothes which King Harold, Gorm's son, had given him; he had also the golden ring on his arm which Earl Hacon had given him.

So they talked long out loud, and at last it came about that he asked whether she were unmarried. She said, so it was, "and there are not many that would run the risk of that." "Thinkest thou none good enough for thee?" "Not that," she says, "but I am said to be hard to please in husbands." "How wouldst thou answer were I to ask for thee?" "That cannot be in thy mind," she says. "It is, though," says he. "If thou hast any mind that way, go and see my father." After that they broke off their talk.[1]

[1] Hallgerda proved to be a wicked and altogether heartless woman, who finally brought Gunnar, whom she marries, to his death by refusing to give him a lock of her beautiful hair to replace his bowstring when he was hard beset by his enemies.

II. Struggles between the Sons of Louis the Pious

68. The death of Louis the Pious and the strife between his sons. (From the *Annals of Fulda*.)

(840) Louis [the German], the emperor's son, took possession of the part of the Empire lying beyond the Rhine as if it were his by right. He won the support of many East Franks by his prudent conduct, and marched through Alemannia to Frankfort. The emperor, learning this, was forced to return from Aquitaine, leaving his business there unfinished. He sent his brother Druogo, the archchaplain, Count Albert, and many others before him to guard the west bank of the Rhine; then he himself followed and celebrated Easter at Aix-la-Chapelle. About this time, night after night, a strange glow appeared in the air, in fashion like a beam, in the southeast, and another arising from the northwest. The two joined together and formed a cone and presented an appearance like clotted blood at the zenith.

After Easter the emperor gathered an army and pursued his son through Thuringia up to the frontiers of the barbarians. He drove him out of the imperial territory and forced him to make a difficult march homeward to Bavaria through the land of the Slavs. The emperor himself set all things in order in that region, and then returned to the royal town of Salz, and celebrated there the Rogation Days and the festival of our Lord's Ascension. On the very day before the Ascension of our Lord, i.e. on the twelfth of May, there was an eclipse of the sun at about the seventh and eighth hour — so completely was the sun obscured that the stars were seen and the color of things on earth was changed.

In these days the emperor fell ill and began to waste away. He was taken on a ship down the Main to Frankfort, and from there after a few days to an island in the Rhine near Ingilenheim. His illness steadily increased upon him, and on the twentieth of June he ended his life. His body was brought to the city of Metz and buried with all due honor in the basilica of St. Arnulf the Confessor.

Lothaire accepted by the Franks as their ruler.

Lothaire, who came from Italy too late [to see his father], was accepted by the Franks to rule over them in his father's

stead. For men say the dying emperor had designated him as the one who should hold after him the helm of the state, and had sent him the royal insignia — the scepter of the Empire and the crown.

Lothaire's brothers did not agree, however, to this arrangement, and they made ready to rebel against him. He went with his army to the precincts of Mayence, and there his brother Louis marched to meet him with a strong following of East Franks. They, however, agreed together to postpone decisive action until another time; and Lothaire marched northward to meet Charles [the Bald]. Meantime Louis bound to his cause by an oath of fidelity the East Franks, the Alemannians, the Saxons, and the Thuringians.

(841) Meanwhile Lothaire placed garrisons along the Rhine and prepared to secure the east bank against an invasion from the west. He heard, through a messenger, of Louis' hostile measures, and, giving up pursuing Charles, he turned about, and at the beginning of the month of April crossed the Rhine secretly at Worms with all his army. Louis was betrayed by some of his followers and, almost surrounded by the army of Lothaire, he was forced to retreat to Bavaria.

The emperor placed guards whom he believed he could trust in those regions, and then turned his energy and his forces once more against Charles, who had already planned to establish a camp beyond the Maas. Louis was summoned to aid Charles and came by way of Alemannia. There the counts to whom Lothaire had intrusted the defense of that region met Louis with an army. They gave battle on the thirteenth of May. Count Adalbert, who had stirred up the strife, was killed; and with him a countless number of men were laid low.

Battle of Fontenay (841).

Louis, victor in this encounter, crossed the Rhine and hastened toward Gaul to aid his brother Charles. The three brothers met in Auxerre, near Fontenay. They could not agree to divide the Empire because Lothaire, who wished to be sole monarch, was opposed to it. So they agreed that

the case should be decided by the power of the sword and so proved by the judgment of God. On the twenty-fifth of June a great battle was fought between them, and the blood shed on both sides was so great that the present age remembers no such carnage among the Frankish people before. On the same day Lothaire began a retreat to his city of Aix-la-Chapelle. Louis and Charles seized his camp and collected and buried the bodies of their slain. They then parted; Charles remained in the west and Louis went in the month of August to the royal town Salz.

Lothaire again collected his forces from all sides. He went to Mayence and ordered the Saxons, with his little son Lothaire, to meet him at Speyer. He himself crossed the Rhine, intending to pursue his brother Louis to the confines of the outlying nations. He returned to Worms, unsuccessful. He celebrated there the marriage of his daughter, and then marched toward Gaul to subdue Charles. He spent the whole winter in fruitless effort and strife and then returned to Aix. On the twenty-fifth of December a comet appeared in the sign of Aquarius.

69. The Northmen at Nantes. (From the *Annals of St. Bertin.*)

(843) Lothaire and Louis dwelt each in the confines of his own kingdom and kept the peace. Charles was marching about Aquitaine. . . . In the terrible and increasing calamities of the time and the general devastation, many men in various parts of Gaul were forced to eat a kind of bread made of earth and a little flour. It was an abominable crime that men should be reduced to eat earth, when the horses of those who were devastating the land were plentifully supplied with fodder.

Pirates of the Northmen's race came to the city of Nantes. They killed the bishop and many of the clergy and laity, both men and women, and plundered the city. Then they marched away to lay waste the land of lower Aquitaine. Finally they reached a certain island [Rhé, near Rochelle], and took thither from the mainland materials to build them houses; and they settled there for the winter as if it were a fixed habitation.

The treaty of Verdun.

Charles betook himself to a rendezvous with his brothers, and joined them at Verdun; and there they divided the land among them. Louis had as his portion everything beyond the Rhine, and on this side of the Rhine the cities and districts of Speyer, Worms, and Mayence. Lothaire received the territory between the Rhine and the Scheldt to their emptying into the sea, besides Cambria, Hennegau, Lomatschgau, and the provinces on the left bank of the Maas, and further on to the place where the Saône joins the Rhone, and the counties along the Rhone on both banks to the sea. The other lands to the confines of Spain they ceded to Charles. When each had given his oath to the others they parted.

III. A Melancholy Glimpse of the Conditions in the Ninth Century

The *Annals of Xanten* give us a terrible impression of the disorder and gloom which prevailed in the Frankish kingdoms, owing to the civil wars and the devastations of the Northmen. The portion here given was probably written as the events occurred.

70. An extract from the *Annals of Xanten*.

(844) Pope Gregory departed this world and Pope Sergius followed in his place. Count Bernhard was killed by Charles. Pippin, king of Aquitaine, together with his son and the son of Bernhard, routed the army of Charles, and there fell the abbot Hugo. At the same time King Louis advanced with his army against the Wends, one of whose kings, Gestimus by name, was killed; the rest came to Louis and pledged him their fidelity, which, however, they broke as soon as he was gone. Thereafter Lothaire, Louis, and Charles came together for council in Diedenhofen, and after a conference they went their several ways in peace.

(845) Twice in the canton of Worms there was an earthquake; the first in the night following Palm Sunday, the second in the holy night of Christ's Resurrection. In the

same year the heathen broke in upon the Christians at many points, but more than twelve thousand of them were killed by the Frisians. Another party of invaders devastated Gaul; of these more than six hundred men perished. Yet owing to his indolence Charles agreed to give them many thousand pounds of gold and silver if they would leave Gaul, and this they did. Nevertheless the cloisters of most of the saints were destroyed and many of the Christians were led away captive.

After this had taken place King Louis once more led a force against the Wends. When the heathen had learned this they sent ambassadors, as well as gifts and hostages, to Saxony, and asked for peace. Louis then granted peace and returned home from Saxony. Thereafter the robbers were afflicted by a terrible pestilence, during which the chief sinner among them, by the name of Reginheri, who had plundered the Christians and the holy places, was struck down by the hand of God. They then took counsel and threw lots to determine from which of their gods they should seek safety; but the lots did not fall out happily, and on the advice of one of their Christian prisoners that they should cast their lot before the God of the Christians, they did so, and the lot fell happily. Then their king, by the name of Rorik, together with all the heathen people, refrained from meat and drink for fourteen days, when the plague ceased, and they sent back all their Christian prisoners to their country.

(846) According to their custom the Northmen plundered Eastern and Western Frisia and burned the town of Dordrecht, with two other villages, before the eyes of Lothaire, who was then in the castle of Nimwegen, but could not punish the crime. The Northmen, with their boats filled with immense booty, including both men and goods, returned to their own country.

In the same year Louis sent an expedition from Saxony against the Wends across the Elbe. He personally, however, went with his army against the Bohemians, whom we

call Beu-winitha, but with great risk. . . . Charles advanced against the Britons, but accomplished nothing.

At this same time, as no one can mention or hear without great sadness, the mother of all churches, the basilica of the apostle Peter, was taken and plundered by the Moors, or Saracens, who had already occupied the region of Beneventum. The Saracens, moreover, slaughtered all the Christians whom they found outside the walls of Rome, either within or without this church. They also carried men and women away prisoners. They tore down, among many others, the altar of the blessed Peter, and their crimes from day to day bring sorrow to Christians. Pope Sergius departed life this year.

(847) After the death of Sergius no mention of the apostolic see has come in any way to our ears. Rabanus [Maurus], master and abbot of Fulda, was solemnly chosen archbishop as the successor of Bishop Otger, who had died. Moreover the Northmen here and there plundered the Christians and engaged in a battle with the counts Sigir and Liuthar. They continued up the Rhine as far as Dordrecht, and nine miles farther to Meginhard, when they turned back, having taken their booty.

(848) On the fourth of February, towards evening, it lightened and there was thunder heard. The heathen, as was their custom, inflicted injury on the Christians. In the same year King Louis held an assembly of the people near Mayence. At this synod a heresy was brought forward by a few monks in regard to predestination. These were convicted and beaten, to their shame, before all the people. They were sent back to Gaul whence they had come, and, thanks be to God, the condition of the church remained uninjured.

(849) While King Louis was ill his army of Bavaria took its way against the Bohemians. Many of these were killed and the remainder withdrew, much humiliated, into their own country. The heathen from the North wrought havoc in

Christendom as usual and grew greater in strength; but it is revolting to say more of this matter.

(850) On January 1st of that season, in the octave of the Lord, towards evening, a great deal of thunder was heard and a mighty flash of lightning seen; and an overflow of water afflicted the human race during this winter. In the following summer an all too great heat of the sun burned the earth. Leo, pope of the apostolic see, an extraordinary man, built a fortification round the church of St. Peter the apostle. The Moors, however, devastated here and there the coast towns in Italy. The Norman Rorik, brother of the above-mentioned younger Heriold, who earlier had fled dishonored from Lothaire, again took Dordrecht and did much evil treacherously to the Christians. In the same year so great a peace existed between the two brothers — Emperor Lothaire and King Louis — that they spent many days together in Osning [Westphalia] and there hunted, so that many were astonished thereat; and they went each his way in peace.

(851) The bodies of certain saints were sent from Rome to Saxony, — that of Alexander, one of seven brethren, and those of Romanus and Emerentiana. In the same year the very noble empress, Irmingard by name, wife of the emperor Lothaire, departed this world. The Normans inflicted much harm in Frisia and about the Rhine. A mighty army of them collected by the river Elbe against the Saxons, and some of the Saxon towns were besieged, others burned, and most terribly did they oppress the Christians. A meeting of our kings took place on the Maas.

(852) The steel of the heathen glistened; excessive heat; a famine followed. There was not fodder enough for the animals. The pasturage for the swine was more than sufficient.

(853) A great famine in Saxony so that many were forced to live on horse meat.

(854) The Normans, in addition to the very many evils which they were everywhere inflicting upon the Christians, burned the church of St. Martin, bishop of Tours, where his body rests.

(855) In the spring Louis, the eastern king, sent his son of the same name to Aquitaine to obtain possession of the heritage of his uncle Pippin.

(856) The Normans again chose a king of the same name as the preceding one, and related to him, and the Danes made a fresh incursion by sea, with renewed forces, against the Christians.

(857) A great sickness, accompanied by swelling of the bladder, prevailed among the people. This produced a terrible foulness, so that the limbs were separated from the body even before death came.

(858) Louis, the eastern king, held an assembly of the people of his territory in Worms.

(859) On the first of January, as the early mass was being said, a single earthquake occurred in Worms and a triple one in Mayence before daybreak.

(860) On the fifth of February thunder was heard. The king returned from Gaul after the whole empire had gone to destruction, and was in no way bettered.

(861) The holy bishop Luitbert piously furnished the cloister which is called the Freckenhorst with many relics of the saints, namely, of the martyrs Boniface and Maximus, and of the confessors Eonius and Antonius, and added a portion of the manger of the Lord and of his grave, and likewise of the dust of the Lord's feet as he ascended to heaven. In this year the winter was long and the above-mentioned kings again had a secret consultation on the above-mentioned island near Coblenz, and they laid waste everything round about.

IV. How the Northmen harried Frankland and laid Siege to Paris

71. How the Northmen harried Francia and besieged Paris (882–886). (From the *Annals of St. Vaast.*)

(882) . . . The Northmen in the month of October intrenched themselves at Condé, and horribly devastated the kingdom of Carloman,[1] while King Charles with his army took his stand on the Somme at Barleux. The Northmen ceased not from rapine and drove all the inhabitants who were left beyond the Somme. . . .

[King Carloman gave them battle] and the Franks were victorious and killed nigh a thousand of the Northmen. Yet they were in no wise discomfited by this battle. . . . They went from Condé back to their ships, and thence laid waste the whole kingdom with fire and sword as far as the Oise. They destroyed houses, and razed monasteries and churches to the ground, and brought to their death the servants of our holy religion by famine and sword, or sold them beyond the sea. They killed the dwellers in the land and none could resist them.

Abbot Hugo, when he heard of these calamities, gathered an army and came to aid the king. When the Northmen came back from a plundering expedition . . . he, in company with the king, gave them chase. They, however, betook themselves to a wood, and scattered hither and yon, and finally returned to their ships with little loss. In this year died Hinckmar, archbishop of Rheims, a man justly esteemed by all.

(883) . . . In the spring the Northmen left Condé and sought the country along the sea. Here they dwelt through the summer; they forced the Flemings to flee from their lands, and raged everywhere, laying waste the country with fire and sword. As autumn approached, Carloman, the king, took his station with his army in the canton of Vithman at Mianai, opposite Lavier, in order to protect the kingdom. The Northmen at the end of October came to Lavier with cavalry, foot soldiers, and all their baggage. Ships, too, came

[1] Son of Charles the Bald. See *History of Western Europe*, p. 96.

from the sea up the Somme and forced the king and his whole army to flee and drove them across the river Oise. The invaders went into winter quarters in the city of Amiens and devastated all the land to the Seine and on both sides of the Oise, and no man opposed them; and they burned with fire the monasteries and churches of Christ. . . .

(884) At this time died Engelwin, bishop of Paris, and the abbot Gauzelin was put in his stead. The Northmen ceased not to take Christian people captive and to kill them, and to destroy churches and houses and burn villages. Through all the streets lay bodies of the clergy, of laymen, nobles, and others, of women, children, and suckling babes. There was no road nor place where the dead did not lie; and all who saw Christian people slaughtered were filled with sorrow and despair.

Meanwhile, because the king was still a child, all the nobles came together in the city of Compiègne to consider what should be done. They took counsel, and decided to send to the Northmen the Dane Sigfried, who was a Christian and faithful to the king, and the nephew of Heoric the Dane, that he might treat with the nobles of his people and ask them to accept tribute money and leave the kingdom.

He accordingly undertook to carry out the task assigned to him, went to Amiens, and announced his mission to the leaders of the Northmen. After long consultations and much going to and fro, these decided to impose upon the king and the Franks a tribute of twelve thousand pounds of silver, according to their manner of weighing. After both parties had given hostages, the people who dwelt beyond the Oise were secure in some degree. They enjoyed this security from the day of the Purification of St. Mary until the month of October.

The Northmen, however, made raids in their accustomed manner beyond the Scheldt, and laid waste all things with fire and sword, and totally destroyed churches, monasteries, cities and villages, and put the people to slaughter. After the holy Easter festival the collection of the tribute began,

and churches and church property were ruthlessly plundered. At last, the whole sum being finally brought together, the Franks assembled with a view of resisting the Northmen should they break their pledges, but the Normans burned their camp and retreated from Amiens. . . .

(885) [In December of this same year Carloman was accidentally killed while on a boar hunt.] As soon as Emperor Charles [the Fat] received tidings of this, he made a hasty journey and came to Pontion; and all the men of Carloman's kingdom went to him there and submitted to his sway. . . .

On the twenty-fifth of July the whole host of the Northmen forced their way to Rheims. Their ships had not yet come, so they crossed the Seine in boats they found there, and quickly fortified themselves. The Franks followed them. All those who dwelt in Neustria and Burgundy gathered to make war upon the Northmen. But when they gave battle it befell that Ragnold, duke of Maine, was killed, with a few others. Therefore all the Franks retreated in great sorrow and accomplished nothing.

Thereupon the rage of the Northmen was let loose upon the land. They thirsted for fire and slaughter; they killed Christian people and took them captive and destroyed churches; and no man could resist them.

Again the Franks made ready to oppose them, not in battle, but by building fortifications to prevent the passage of their ships. They built a castle on the river Oise at the place which is now called Pontoise, and appointed Aletramnus to guard it. Bishop Gauzelin fortified the city of Paris.

In the month of November the Northmen entered the Oise, and besieged the castle the Franks had built. They cut off the water supply from the castle's garrison, for it depended on the river for water and had no other. Soon they who were shut up in the castle began to suffer for lack of water. What more need be said? They surrendered on condition that they be allowed to go forth unharmed. After hostages had been exchanged, Aletramnus and his

men went to Beauvais. The Northmen burned the castle and carried off all that had been left by the garrison, who had been permitted to depart only on condition that they would leave everything behind except their horses and arms.

The Northmen besiege Paris.

Elated with victory, the Northmen appeared before Paris, and at once attacked a tower, confident that they could take it quickly because it was not yet fully fortified. But the Christians defended it manfully and the battle raged from morning till evening. The night gave a truce to fighting and the Northmen returned to their ships. Bishop Gauzelin and Count Odo worked with their men all night long to strengthen the tower against assaults. The next day the Northmen returned and tried to storm the tower, and they fought fiercely till sunset. The Northmen had lost many of their men and they returned to their ships. They pitched a camp before the city and laid siege to it and bent all their energies to capture it. But the Christians fought bravely and stood their ground.

(886) On the sixth of February those in the city suffered a severe reverse. The river rose and washed away the Little Bridge. When the bishop heard of this disaster he sent brave and noble men to guard the tower, so that they might begin to rebuild the broken bridge when morning broke. The Northmen knew all that had happened. They arose before sunrise, hurried with all their forces to the tower, surrounded it on all sides so that no reënforcements could reach the garrison, and tried to take the tower by storm.

The guard resisted valiantly, and the clamor of the multitude arose to heaven. The bishop was on the city wall with all the inhabitants. The people wept and groaned because they could not aid their own. The bishop commended them all to Christ because there was nothing else that he could do. The Northmen tried to break in the gate of the tower and finally set fire to it. Those who were within, weakened by wounds, were conquered by fire; and to the shame of Christianity, they were killed in divers ways and cast into

the river. The Northmen then destroyed the tower; and afterward they ceased not to assault the city itself.

The bishop was heartbroken over this heavy loss. He straightway sent to Count Herkenger and begged him to go at once to Germany and ask Henry, duke of Austrasia, to aid him and the Christian people. Herkenger hastened to carry out the mission intrusted to him, and persuaded Henry to come with an army to Paris. He, however, accomplished nothing there and soon returned to his own country.

Then Gauzelin, who sought in all possible ways to help the Christian people, decided to come to a friendly understanding with Sigfried, king of the Danes, to secure the deliverance of the city from siege.

Unhappily, while negotiations were going on, the bishop fell into sore infirmity. He ended his life and was buried in his city. The Northmen were aware of his death; and before it was announced to the citizens, the Northmen proclaimed from the gates that the bishop was dead. The people were exhausted by the siege and overwhelmed by the death of their father; they lost courage and abandoned themselves to sorrow. But Odo, the illustrious count, gave them renewed strength with his brave words.

Valiant conduct of Odo, count of Paris.

The Northmen ceased not to attack the city daily; many were killed and still more were disabled by wounds, and food began to give out in the city. At this time Hugo, the venerable abbot, departed this life and was buried in the monastery of St. German Antisdoro. Odo saw how the people were falling into despair, and he went forth secretly to seek aid from the nobles of the kingdom, and to send word to the emperor that the city would soon be lost unless help came. When Odo returned to Paris he found the people lamenting his absence. Nor did he reënter the city without a remarkable incident. The Northmen had learned that he was coming back, and they blocked his way to the gate. But Odo, though his horse was killed, struck down his enemies right and left, forced his way into the city, and brought joy to the anxious people. . . .

Charles the Fat makes a shameful treaty with the Northmen.

[The siege had lasted eight months when the emperor came to relieve the city.] It was in the autumn that he appeared before Paris with a very strong army. . . . But he did not force them to raise the siege. He made terms with them and signed a shameful treaty. He promised to pay a ransom for the city, and gave them leave to march unopposed into Burgundy, to plunder it during the winter.

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A. References.

General Summary of Events and Conditions: ADAMS, *Civilization*, pp. 170–179; HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, Vol. I, pp. 38–48.

Louis the Pious: BÉMONT and MONOD, pp. 211–215; EMERTON, *Mediæval Europe*, pp. 3–24; HENDERSON, *Germany in the Middle Ages*, Chapter VI, pp. 82–99; OMAN, Chapter XXIII, pp. 383–404.

The Division of the Empire in 817: HENDERSON, *Historical Documents*, pp. 201–206.

The Process of Disruption: BÉMONT and MONOD, pp. 215–240; EMERTON, pp. 24–40; HENDERSON, *Germany in the Middle Ages*, Chapter VII, pp. 100–116; OMAN, Chapters XXIV–XXV, pp. 405–445.

The Strasburg Oath: EMERTON, pp. 26–28; MUNRO, p. 20.

The Treaty of Aix: HENDERSON, *Historical Documents*, pp. 206, 207.

Arnulf of Carinthia: EMERTON, pp. 90–94; OMAN, Chapter XXVII, pp. 468–472.

The Norman Invasions: MUNRO, Chapter IV, pp. 33–39; GIBBON, Vol. VI, part of Chapter LVI, pp. 173–193.

B. Additional reading in English.

KEARY, *The Vikings in Western Christendom.* The most complete account of the Norman raids during the period of the later Carolingians.

JOHNSON, *The Normans.* A good general narrative covering the history of all Norman settlements in southern Europe.

There are no books in English dealing especially with the fortunes of the Empire during these years. The reader must turn to chapters in the large works: GREGOROVIUS, *Rome in the Middle Ages*, Vol. III, Book V, Chapters II–VI; KITCHIN, *History of France*, Vol. I, Book II, Part II, Chapters IV–V; MILMAN, *Latin Christianity*, Vols. II and III, Book V, Chapters II–VII and IX.

POOLE, *Illustrations of Mediæval Thought*, Chapters I and II, furnish an admirable account of certain especially enlightened thinkers and reformers of the ninth century.

C. Material for advanced study.

LAMPRECHT, *Deutsche Geschichte*, Vol. II, Book V, Chapter III.

RICHTER, *Annalen der deutschen Geschichte*, Vol. II, Carolingian Period, Part II (see below, p. 262).

SIMSON, *Jahrbücher des Frankischen Reiches unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, 1874–1876 (see below, pp. 261 *sq.*).

LAVISSE, *Histoire de France*, Vol. II, Part I

EBERT, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters*, Vol. II, Book V.

The sources.

Three lives of Louis the Pious by contemporaries of his have come down to us (in the *Monumenta; Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XIX; GUIZOT, *Collection*, Vol. III), but more remarkable than any of these is:

NITHARD, *Four Books of History*, dealing with the civil wars (840–843) following the death of Louis the Pious. The author is noteworthy for his grasp of his subject and clear presentation. He is the first *layman* among the historical writers of the Middle Ages. (Octavo edition of the *Monumenta; Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XX; GUIZOT, *Collection*, Vol. III.)

The Annals of Fulda, coming down to 901. A continuation for the East Frankish kingdom of the *Annals of Lorsch* or *Royal Annals*, mentioned above, p. 148. Einhard is supposed by some to be the writer who brought the work down to 838; it was then continued to 863 by Rudolf, the confessor of Louis the German. See extract given above, pp. 155 *sqq.* (Octavo edition of the *Monumenta; Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXIII.)

The Annals of St. Bertin (741–882). The continuation for the West Frankish kingdom of the *Royal Annals*, — the latter part written as the events occurred. Hinckmar, the famous archbishop of Rheims, carried on the work for a time. One of the very best sources for the period. (Octavo edition of the *Monumenta; Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXIV; GUIZOT, *Collection*, Vol. IV.)

The Annals of St. Vaast (874–900). Excellent for the end of the century. See extracts given above, pp. 163 *sqq.* (*Monumenta; Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXIV.)

The Annals of Xanten, useful for the period 831–873. A contemporary record by various hands, probably drawn up in the archbishopric of Cologne. See extracts given above, pp. 158 *sqq.* (*Monumenta; Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXIII.)

Chronicle of REGINO OF PRÜM to the year 906. The writer was a well-educated and intelligent churchman; his style is simple and his attempt to preface the history of his own time by a history of the world is one of the very earliest examples of the mediæval "chronicle," which now begins to take the place of the less pretentious annals. See above,

pp. 147 *sq.* His work was much used by succeeding writers. (Octavo edition of the *Monumenta; Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXVII.)

HINCMAR OF RHEIMS, *De Ordine Palatii.* An explanation of the organization and functions of government as understood by one of the most active public men of the time. (Edited, with French translation, by PROU, *Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études*, Vol. LVIII, 1885; also by KRAUSE, in *Fontes juris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum*, 1894.)

For the literature relating to the papacy and the canon law, see close of Chapter XII, pp. 264 *sq.*

CHAPTER IX

FEUDALISM

I. The Older Institutions which serve to explain Feudalism

The blank forms (*formulæ*) used in drawing up legal contracts are a great aid to the student of history, for they do not apply to a single case only, but indicate the habits of the time. Some examples of the formulæ illustrating the arrangements which underlay feudalism are here given.[1]

A. — Grants of Immunity from the Visits of the King's Officials

72. Formula for grant of immunity to a bishop.

We believe that it increases the great strength of our realm, if with benevolent deliberation we concede opportune benefits to certain churches, — or to certain other specified parties, — and under God's protection write them down to endure permanently. Therefore, may your Zeal know that we have seen fit upon petition to grant such a benefit, for our eternal reward, to that apostolic man, Lord ——, bishop of the city of ——; that in the vills belonging to the church of that lord, which he is seen to have at the present time, either by our gift or that of any one else, or which in the future godly piety shall wish to add to the possessions of that holy place, no public judge shall at any time presume to enter, for the hearing of causes or for the exaction of payments, but the prelate himself, or his successors in God's name

[1] I have been greatly aided in the preparation of this chapter by Professor Cheyney's "Documents Illustrative of Feudalism." *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 3.

shall be able to rule over these possessions as enjoying complete immunity.

We decree, therefore, that neither you, nor your subordinates, nor your successors, nor any public judicial power shall presume at any time to enter upon the vills of the same church anywhere in our kingdom, either those granted by royal bounty, or by that of private persons, or those which shall in future be granted; either for the purpose of settling disputes, or to exact fines for any cause, or to obtain lodging, entertainment, or sureties. But whatever the treasury might expect from fines or otherwise, either from freemen, serfs, or others within the fields or boundaries of the aforesaid church, or dwelling upon its lands — this revenue we surrender, for our future welfare, in order that it may be applied to the expenses of the same church by the hand of those ruling it, forever.

And what we, in the name of God and for the remedy of our soul and that of our children after us have granted from full devotion, let not the royal sublimity itself, nor the reckless cupidity of any of the magistrates be tempted to violate. And in order that the present decree may, by the aid of God, remain inviolate now and hereafter, we have ordained that this be certified by the subscription of our hand.

73. Formula for a grant of a vill with immunity to a layman.

Therefore, may your Greatness (or Perseverance) know that we have seen fit to concede by our ready will to —— ——, an illustrious man, the vill named ——, situated in the district of ——, completely, with its whole proper boundary, as it has been possessed by —— ——, or by our treasury, or is possessed at this present time. Wherefore, by this our present command, we have decreed forever that the person aforesaid should have the above-mentioned vill, in its entirety, with the lands, houses, buildings, villeins, slaves, vineyards, woods, fields, meadows, pastures, waters or watercourses, gristmills, additions, appurtenances, including any class of men who are subjected to our treasury who dwell there; in entire immunity, and without the entrance of any one of the judges for the purpose of exacting fines

for any kind of case. He shall have, hold, and possess it in proprietary right and without expecting the entrance of any of our judges; and may with our good will leave it to his posterity, by the aid of God, or to whom he will; by our permission he shall hereafter be free to do with it what he will. And in order that this concession may be observed the more strictly, we have determined that it should be corroborated below with our own hand.

B. — The Beneficium

74. Land granted to a monastery and received back by its former owner as a *Beneficium* for usufruct.

I, ——, in the name of God. I have settled in my mind that I ought, for the good of my soul, to make a gift of something from my possessions, which I have therefore done. And this is what I now hand over, in the district named ——, in the place named ——, all those possessions of mine which my father left me there at his death, and which, as against the claims of my brothers, or as against those of my co-heirs, legitimately fell to me in the division; together with those possessions which I was able afterward to add to them. I grant these possessions in their entirety: that is to say, the courtyard, the buildings, slaves, houses, lands cultivated and uncultivated, meadows, woods, waters, mills, etc.

These, as I have before said, with all the things adjacent or appurtenant to them, I hand over to the church, which was built in honor of St. ——, or to the monastery which is called ——, where Abbot —— is acknowledged to rule regularly over God's flock; on these conditions, viz.: that so long as life remains in my body I shall receive from you the possessions above described as a benefice for usufruct, and the due payment I will make to you and your successors each year, that is the sum of ——. And my son shall have the same possessions for the days of his life only, and shall make the above-named payment; and if my children should survive me, they shall have the same possessions during the days of their life and shall make the same payment; and if God shall give me a son from a legitimate wife, he shall have the same possessions for the days of his life only, after the death of whom

the same possessions with all their improvements shall return to your part to be held forever. Should it accordingly be my fate to beget sons from a legitimate marriage, these shall hold the same possessions after my death, making the above-named payment, during the time of their lives.[1] If not, however, these same possessions shall, after my death, without tergiversation of any kind, by right of your authority, revert to you, to be retained forever.

If any one, however, — which I do not believe will ever occur, — if I myself or any other person shall wish to impeach the validity of this grant, in opposition to the truth, may his deceit in no way succeed. For his bold attempt let him pay to the aforesaid monastery double the amount which his disordered rapacity has been prevented from abstracting; and, moreover, let him be liable to the royal authority for a payment of gold equal to ——; moreover, let the present charter remain inviolate with all that it contains, with the witnesses below.

Done at ——, publicly, those who are noted below being present, together with the remaining innumerable multitude of people.

The land given back by the church or monastery as a benefice or *precaria*.

In the name of God, I, Abbot ——, with our commissioned brethren. Since it is not unknown how you, ——, by the suggestion of divine exhortation, did grant to the monastery ——, to the church which is known to be constructed in honor of St. ——, where we, by God's authority, exercise our pastoral care, all your possessions which you appeared to have in the district named, in the vill named, which your father on his death bequeathed to you there, or which by your own labor you were able to gain there, or which as against your brother or against ——, a co-heir, a just division gave you, with courtyard and buildings, gardens and orchards, with various slaves, and such and such houses, meadows, woods, lands cultivated and uncultivated, and with all the dependencies and appurtenances belonging

[1] Probably a choice was supposed to be made among these several almost identical provisions in regard to the rights of children.

to it, which it would be extremely long to enumerate, in all their completeness.

But afterwards, at your request, it has seemed proper to us to cede to you the same possessions to be held for usufruct; and you will not neglect to pay henceforth annually the due *censum*, to wit, ——. And if God should give you a son by your legal wife, he shall have the same possessions for the days of his life only, and shall not presume to neglect the above-named payment; and similarly your sons which you are seen to have at present shall do for the days of their life; after the death of whom all the possessions above named shall revert to us and our successors perpetually. Moreover, if no sons shall have been begotten by you, immediately after your death, without any troublesome contention, the property shall revert to the rulers or guardians of the above-named church forever.

Nor may any one, either ourselves or our successors, succeed in a rash attempt to nullify these arrangements, but just as present circumstances call for the *precaria* in question, so may the agreement endure unchanged which we, with the consent of our brothers, have decided to corroborate.

Done at ——, in the presence of —— and of others, whom it is needless to enumerate. Seal of the said abbot who has ordered this *precaria* to be made.

C. — Commendation

75. A Frankish formula of commendation of the seventh century.

To that magnificent Lord ——, I, ——. Since it is known familiarly to all how little I have whence to feed and clothe myself, I have therefore petitioned your Piety, and your good will has permitted me to hand myself over or commend myself to your guardianship, which I have thereupon done; that is to say, in this way, that you should aid and succor me as well with food as with clothing, according as I shall be able to serve you and deserve it.

And so long as I shall live I ought to provide service and honor to you, suitably to my free condition; and I shall not during my lifetime have the ability to withdraw from your

power or guardianship, but must remain during the days of my life under your power or defense. Wherefore it is proper that if either of us shall wish to withdraw himself from these agreements, he shall pay —— shillings to his companion, and this agreement shall remain unbroken.

Wherefore it is fitting that they should make or confirm between themselves two letters drawn up in the same form on this matter; which they have thus done.

76. Formal acceptance of a follower by his lord in the seventh century.

It is right that those who offer to us unbroken fidelity should be protected by our aid. And since ——, a faithful one of ours, by the favor of God, coming here in our palace with his arms, has seen fit to swear trust and fidelity to us in our hand, therefore we herewith decree and command that for the future —— ——, above mentioned, be reckoned among the number of the antrustions [i.e. followers]. And if any one perchance should presume to kill him, let him know that he will be judged guilty of his weregild of six hundred shillings.

II. The Granting of Fiefs

77. How one who owned his land — i.e. held it as an *allod* — might change it to a fief.

To all who shall see the present letters, the Official of Auxerre, greeting in the Lord:

Let all know, that standing in our presence, William de la Forêt, knight, and Agnes, his wife, asserting firmly that they hold and possess in free allod the property noted below; namely: the arpent of vines, situated in the vineyard of Chablis, in the place which is called the Close, between the vines of William Berner, on the one side, and the vines of the late Pariot, on the other. . . . [The charter continues to describe some twenty pieces of vineyard, meadow, and arable land, certain houses, and rents in wine and grain, the property being situated apparently in six different villages.] Also their houses situated at Chablis which formerly belonged to the late Peter Venator, knight; likewise three measures of wine annually due to the aforesaid William and his wife, as is stated, in the priory of Dyem, — in short, all

the above-mentioned property which the said Agnes is said to hold directly and hereditarily, together with all other things which they possessed and held in free allod, as they claim, and still hold and possess within the boundaries of Chablis, of Chichiac, of Milli, of Ponche, of Bena, and of Chapelle, — in short, the direct and hereditary holdings of the same Agnes wherever they may be within the same boundaries, and whatsoever, by their common consent and will, after previous deliberation, they have placed altogether in the fee of the church of St. Martin of Tours, and for the future have wished to hold and possess firmly in fee from the said church.

They promise on their fealty personally offered that they hold and will hold for the future, from the said church in fee, the things aforesaid and enumerated above, with all other things which they hold and possess within the said boundaries, wherever and whatsoever they may be; and in future, by reason of the same property, will provide feudal service to the same church as they ought to provide it, just as others holding in fee are accustomed to hold and are bound to give or provide. . . .

Given A.D. 1267, Wednesday after the Ascension of the Lord.

78. The count of Troyes grants a manor to a certain Jocelyn to be held as a fief (1200).

I, Thiebault, count palatine of Troyes, make known to those present and to come, that I have given in fee to Jocelyn d'Avalon and his heirs the manor which is called Gillencourt, which is of the castellany of La Ferté sur Aube; and whatever the same Jocelyn shall be able to acquire in the same manor I have granted to him and his heirs in augmentation of that fief. I have granted, moreover, to him that in no free manor of mine will I retain men who are of this gift. The same Jocelyn, moreover, on account of this has become my liegeman, saving, however, his allegiance to Gerard d'Arcy, and to the lord duke of Burgundy and to Peter, count of Auxerre.

Done at Chouaude, by my own witness, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1200, in the month of January. Given by the hand of Walter, my chancellor.

79. Record of a grant made by Abbot Faritius to Robert, a knight.

Abbot Faritius also granted to Robert, son of William Mauduit, the land of four hides in Weston which his father had held from the former's predecessor, to be held as a fief. And he should do this service for it, to wit: that whenever the church of Abingdon should perform its knight's service he should do the service of half a knight for the same church; that is to say, in castle ward, in military service beyond and on this side the sea, in giving money in proportion to the knights on the capture of the king, and in the rest of the services which the other knights of the church perform. He also did homage to the same abbot. This land previously did the service of three weeks yearly only.

80. The count of Champagne grants a fief to the bishop of Beauvais (1167).

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, Amen. I, Louis, by the grace of God king of the French, make known to all present as well as to come, that at Mante, in our presence, Count Henry of Champagne conceded the fief of Savigny to Bartholomew, bishop of Beauvais, and his successors. And for that fief the said bishop has made promise and engagement for one knight, and justice and service to Count Henry; and he has also agreed that the bishops who shall come after him will do likewise. In order that this may be understood and known to posterity, we have caused the present charter to be corroborated by our seal.

Done at Mante, in the year of the Incarnate Word 1167; present in our palace those whose names and seals are appended: seal of Count Thiebault, our steward; seal of Guy, the butler; seal of Matthew, the chamberlain; seal of Ralph, the constable. Given by the hand of Hugh, the chancellor.

81. Pons of Mont-Saint-Jean becomes the man of the countess of Champagne by accepting a money fief.

I, Pons of Mont-Saint-Jean, make known to all, both present and future, that since I have long been the man of my beloved Lady Blanche, countess of Champagne, for twenty pounds assigned to the fair at Bar, and since later both the countess and my dear lord have added other twenty pounds assigned to the same fair and gave me three hundred pounds in cash,— I swore by the saints that I would in good faith aid them and their heirs with my people and fortifications.

If necessary I will fight especially against Erard of Brienne and Philippa his wife, and against Adelaide, queen of Cyprus, and her heirs, and against all who would aid them; except that should the said countess or count or their people be against Milo of Noyers, my sister's husband, in his castle of Noyers or elsewhere in his lands, neither I nor my people shall be held to go thither. If, however, the said Milo or his people set upon the countess or the count or their people, we shall be held to defend them and their lands with all our might.

It is also to be known that my heir who shall hold Charniacum shall also have the fief above mentioned of forty pounds.

That all this shall be held valid, I corroborate what has here been written with the impression of my seal. Done in the year of grace 1219, in the month of June.

82. How a knight accepted a money fief from the king of France (1380).

We, Regnault de Fauquemont, knight, lord of Bournes and of Sitter, make known to all by these presents, that we have become liegeman of the king of France, our lord, and to him have made faith and homage because of one thousand livres of Tours of income which he has given to us during our life, to be drawn from his treasury at Paris. And we have promised to him and do promise by these presents to serve him loyally and well in his wars and otherwise against all men who may live and die, in the form and manner in which a good and loyal subject ought to serve his sovereign lord. In testimony of which we have put our seal to these present letters. Given at Paris, the 15th day of June, the year 1380.

III. Ceremony of doing Homage and swearing Fealty

83. How the count of Flanders received the homage of his vassals (1127).

Through the whole remaining part of the day those who had been previously enfeoffed by the most pious Count Charles did homage to the [new] count, taking up now again their fiefs and offices and whatever they had before rightfully and legitimately obtained. On Thursday, the seventh of April, homages were again made to the count, being completed in the following order of faith and security.

First they did their homage thus. The count asked the vassal if he were willing to become completely his man, and the other replied, "I am willing"; and with hands clasped, placed between the hands of the count, they were bound together by a kiss. Secondly, he who had done homage gave his fealty to the representative of the count in these words, "I promise on my faith that I will in future be faithful to Count William, and will observe my homage to him completely against all persons, in good faith and without deceit." And, thirdly, he took his oath to this upon the relics of the saints. Afterward the count, with a little rod which he held in his hand, gave investitures to all who by this agreement had given their security and accompanying oath.

84. The viscount of Carcassonne does homage to the abbot of St. Mary of Grasse (1110).

In the name of the Lord, I, Bernard Atton, viscount of Carcassonne, in the presence of my sons, Roger and Trencavel, and of Peter Roger of Barbazan, and William Hugo, and Raymond Mantellini, and Peter de Vitry, nobles, and of many other honorable men, who had come to the monastery of St. Mary of Grasse in honor of the festival of the august St. Mary. Since Lord Leo, abbot of the said monastery, asked me, in the presence of all those above mentioned, to acknowledge to him the fealty and homage for the castles, manors, and places which the patrons, my ancestors, held from him and his predecessors and from the said monastery as a fief, and which I ought to hold as they held, I have made to the lord abbot Leo acknowledgment and done homage as I ought to do.

Therefore, let all present and to come know that I, the said Bernard Atton, lord and viscount of Carcassonne, acknowledge verily to thee, my Lord Leo, by the grace of God abbot of St. Mary of Grasse, and to thy successors, that I hold and ought to hold as a fief, in Carcassonne, the following: that is to say, the castles of Confoles, of Léocque, of Capendes (which is otherwise known as St. Martin of Sussagues); and the manors of Mairac, of Albars, and of Musso; also, in the valley of Aquitaine, Rieux, Traverina, Hérault, Archas, Servians, Villatritoes, Tansiraus, Presler, and Cornelles.

Moreover, I acknowledge that I hold from thee and from the said monastery, as a fief, the castle of Termes in Narbonne; and in Minèrve, the castle of Ventaion, and the manors of Cassanolles, and of Ferral and Aiohars; and in Le Rogès, the little village of Longville; for each and all of which I render homage and fealty with hands and mouth to thee, my said Lord Abbot Leo and to thy successors; and I swear upon these four gospels of God that I will always be a faithful vassal to thee and to thy successors and to St. Mary of Grasse in all things in which a vassal is required to be faithful to his lord; and I will defend thee, my lord, and all thy successors, and the said monastery, and the monks present and to come, and the castles and manors and all your men and their possessions against all malefactors and invaders, of my own free will and at my own cost, and so shall my successors do after me; and I will give to thee power over all the castles and manors above described, in peace and in war, whenever they shall be claimed by thee or by thy successors.

Moreover, I acknowledge that, as a recognition of the above fiefs, I and my successors ought to come to the said monastery at our own expense, as often as a new abbot shall have been appointed, and there do homage and return to him the power over all the fiefs described above. And when the abbot shall mount his horse, I and my heirs, viscounts of Carcassonne, and our successors ought to hold the stirrup for the honor of the dominion of St. Mary of Grasse; and to him and all who come with him, to as many as two hundred beasts, we should make the abbot's purveyance in the borough of St. Michael of Carcassonne, the first time he enters Carcassonne, with the best fish and meat, and with eggs and cheese, honorably, according to his will, and pay the expense of shoeing the horses, and for straw and fodder as the season shall require.

And if I or my sons or their successors do not observe towards thee or thy successors each and all the conditions declared above, and should come against these things, we desire that all the aforesaid fiefs should by that very fact be

handed over to thee and to the said monastery of St. Mary of Grasse and to thy successors.

The abbot acknowledges that homage has been rendered.

I, therefore, the aforesaid Lord Leo, by the grace of God abbot of St. Mary of Grasse, receive the homage and fealty for all fiefs of castles and manors and places which are described above, in the way and with the agreements and understandings written above; and likewise I concede to thee and thy heirs and their successors, the viscounts of Carcassonne, all the castles and manors and places aforesaid, as a fief, along with this present charter. . . . And I promise by the religion of my order to thee and thy heirs and successors, viscounts of Carcassonne, that I will be a good and faithful lord concerning all those things described above. . . .

Made in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1110, in the reign of Louis [VI]. Seal of Bernard Atton, viscount of Carcassonne, seal of Raymond Mantellini, seal of Peter Roger of Barbazan, seal of Roger, son of the said viscount of Carcassonne, seal of Peter de Vitry, seal of Trencavel, son of the said viscount of Carcassonne, seal of William Hugo, seal of Lord Abbot Leo, who has accepted this acknowledgment of the homage of the said viscount.

And I, the monk John, have written this charter at the command of the said lord Bernard Atton, viscount of Carcassonne, and of his sons, on the day and year given above, in the presence and witness of all those named above.

85. Rules for homage and fealty established by St. Louis.

If any one should hold from a lord in fee, he ought to seek his lord within forty days, and if he does not do it within forty days, the lord may and ought to seize his fief for default of homage, and the things which should be found there he should seize without return, and yet the vassal would be obliged to pay to his lord the redemption.

When any one wishes to enter into the fealty of a lord he ought to seek him, as we have said above, and should say as follows: "Sir, I request you, as my lord, to put me in your fealty and in your homage for such and such a thing situated in your fief, which I have obtained." And he ought to say

from what man, and this one ought to be present and in the fealty of the lord; and he ought to explain whether it is by purchase, or by escheat, or by inheritance; and with his hands joined, to speak as follows: "Sir, I become your man and promise to you fealty for the future as my lord towards all men who may live or die, rendering to you such service as the fief requires, paying to you your relief, as you are the lord." And he ought to say whether for guardianship, or as an escheat, or as an inheritance, or as a purchase.

The lord should immediately reply to him, "And I receive you and take you as my man, and give you this kiss as a sign of faith, saving my right and that of others," according to the usage of the various districts.

And the lord may take the revenues and the products of the year, if the relief is not paid to him, and also money rents. But no one makes money payments for a guardianship, or for a dowry, or for a partition, or for a report of the extent of the fief, according to the usages of various districts; except in the one case where the one who holds in guardianship ought to give security to the parties that when the child shall come of age, the one who has the guardianship will do it at his own expense and at his cost and will guarantee the socage tenants for any payments. This in the case of a fief, but in villanage there is no guardianship.

86. How an ecclesiastical lord might punish a refractory vassal by excommunication and interdict.

Fulbert, bishop by the grace of God, to Gunther, Viscount Hubert, Roger, Bucard, Hugo the son of Hugo, Ottred, Hamelin, Hugo the son of Herbrand, and the wife of Guismand, and to all others who hold benefices of the church of St. Mary at Chartres by the gift of Bishop Reginald:

I summon you and conjure you in the name of God and St. Mary and in our own name, that ye come to us before next Easter and do your service to us or render a just account of your benefices. If you shall not do this, I will excommunicate you for your disobedience; and I will forbid you to hear the divine office, to receive the communion while you live, and to have (Christian) burial when you die. Yea, verily, I will anathematize the castle of Vindocinium and

the lands thereof, and the divine office shall not be celebrated there nor the dead buried. And afterwards I will give away to one man, or to many, the benefices which ye hold, and will negotiate no further with you in regard to them. May God change your hearts, my children!

IV. Mutual Duties of Vassal and Lord

87. Bishop Fulbert of Chartres explains in a celebrated letter the duties of vassal and lord (1020).

To William, most glorious duke of the Aquitanians, Bishop Fulbert, the favor of his prayers:

Asked to write something concerning the form of fealty, I have noted briefly for you, on the authority of the books, the things which follow. He who swears fealty to his lord ought always to have these six things in memory: what is harmless, safe, honorable, useful, easy, practicable. *Harmless*, that is to say, that he should not injure his lord in his body; *safe*, that he should not injure him by betraying his secrets or the defenses upon which he relies for safety; *honorable*, that he should not injure him in his justice or in other matters that pertain to his honor; *useful*, that he should not injure him in his possessions; *easy* and *practicable*, that that good which his lord is able to do easily he make not difficult, nor that which is practicable he make not impossible to him.

Positive duties of lord and vassal.

That the faithful vassal should avoid these injuries is certainly proper, but not for this alone does he deserve his holding; for it is not sufficient to abstain from evil, unless what is good is done also. It remains, therefore, that in the same six things mentioned above he should faithfully counsel and aid his lord, if he wishes to be looked upon as worthy of his benefice and to be safe concerning the fealty which he has sworn.

The lord also ought to act toward his faithful vassal reciprocally in all these things. And if he does not do this, he will be justly considered guilty of bad faith, just as the former, if he should be detected in avoiding or consenting to the avoidance of his duties, would be perfidious and perjured.

I would have written to you at greater length, if I had not been occupied with many other things, including the rebuilding of our city and church, which was lately entirely consumed in a terrible fire; from which loss, though we could not for a while be diverted, yet by the hope of God's comfort and of yours we breathe again.

V. Feudal Military Service

88. List of men summoned under Philip III of France to perform military service (1272).

In the year 1272 the bishop of Paris came to Tours at the citation of the lord king and presented himself in the king's house on the second Sunday after Easter, before Ferrario of Verneuil, knight, marshal of France, saying that he had come at the citation of the lord king prepared to fulfill his duty; who replied to him that he should come again, or send, at the first hour of the next day, because in the meanwhile he could not speak or respond to him, since Gregory of St. Martin of Tours was absent, on account of his weakness, and because, moreover, he was expecting new instructions from the king.

On the next day, and on Tuesday, the aforesaid bishop presented himself before the said marshal, saying that he had come ready for the service of the king with three knights, whose names were John of Marcey, John of Julliaco, and Adam of Blois. He said that if he was held to send more, he was ready to do what he ought; and if he had furnished more than he owed, that this should not bind either him or the church of Paris for the future.

The bishop of Troyes appeared for his see, saying that he owed two knights, whose names were Ralph and Droce of Préaux.

The bishop of Noyon was represented by Theobald of Boesseria, a knight, who acknowledged that the said bishop owed five knights and sent three knights beyond what he owed. The names of the knights are as follows: Ansold of Rancorolis, Nevelon of Rancorolis, his brother, etc. . . . They went forth to the service of the king.

The bishop of Bayeux was represented by Thomas of Semilly, his procurator, who acknowledged that the said bishop owed ten knights for the service of the king in the army. These he sent, namely, John of Bellengreville, John of Caenchy, Richard of Rovancestre, William of Surrain, and others. . . .

John of Rouvray, a knight, lord of Yneto, appeared for himself, confessing that he owed, by reason of his holding of Rouvray, one knight, whom he brought with him, namely, John of Caim.

Fulco of Bauquancayo, a knight, appeared for the abbot of St. Ebrulf, and went forth for the said abbot, as he should, and was held to do.

The archdeacon of Cheuteville did not appear, but sent one knight, namely, Peter of Maucomble.

Reginaldus Trihan, a knight, appeared and went forth for himself.

. . . John of Rouvray, a knight, appeared for himself, saying that he owed one knight for his fief of Corbon and its appurtenances. He offered for himself John of Meler, a knight. What service he owed on his wife's part he did not know.

Robert Bertran, a squire, appeared and said that he owed the lord king two knights and a half.

. . . The abbot St. Columba at Sens appeared in person, and said he had never known his monastery to do military service by furnishing knights. The service was rendered in money, namely, eight score pounds for the army and the sum of seventeen Parisian pounds.

Hugh de Conflent, knight, marshal of Champagne, appeared for the king of Navarre, and brought with him sixty knights, to do the service owed to the king.

Stephanus Mener and Adam Allutarius appeared for the city of Villeneuve-le-Roi, near Sens, and said they owed no military service to the king, unless they chose to render it out of sheer courtesy. And they would do the bidding of the lord king only on condition that they go only as far from Villeneuve as they can return thither in one day, during the sunlight or the daylight.

The representative chosen by the abbot of Ferrières appeared in person, and said that he owed no military service with horses and arms, but only the sum of seventeen pounds Parisian and his followers six score pounds, namely, sixty pounds for Ferrières and sixty for Beausse. . . .

VI. Failure of Feudalism to secure Order. The Truce of God

89. Bishop Stubbs' definition of ideal feudalism.

[In the form which feudalism had reached at the Norman Conquest,] it may be described as a complete organization of society through the medium of land tenure, in which from the king down to the lowest landowner all are bound together by obligation of service and defense: the lord to protect his vassal, the vassal to do service to his lord; the defense and service being based on and regulated by the nature and extent of the land held by the one of the other. In those states which have reached the territorial stage of development, the rights of defense and service are supplemented by the right of jurisdiction. The lord judges as well as defends his vassal; the vassal does suit as well as service to his lord. In states in which feudal government has reached its utmost growth, the political, financial, judicial, every branch of public administration is regulated by the same conditions. The central authority is a mere shadow of a name.

The general failure of feudalism to secure peace and order, indeed its tendency directly to promote disorder, is illustrated by many of the passages from the chronicles found in the following chapters (see, especially, Chapter X). The provisions of the Truce of God are eloquent of existing conditions.

90. The Truce of God issued by a synod held at Cologne in 1083.[1]

Inasmuch as in our own times the Church, through its members, has been extraordinarily afflicted by tribulations and difficulties, so that tranquillity and peace were wholly

[1] This document has been preserved only in this form, in which it was communicated by the archbishop of Cologne to the bishop of Münster.

despaired of, we have endeavored with God's help to come to its aid, in the midst of its sufferings and perils. And by the advice of our faithful subjects we have at length provided this remedy, so that we might to some extent reëstablish, on certain days at least, the peace which, because of our sins, we could not make enduring. Accordingly we have enacted and set forth the following:

Having called together those under us to a legally summoned council, which was held at Cologne, the chief city of our province, in the church of St. Peter, in the 1083d year of our Lord's Incarnation, in the sixth indiction, on the twelfth day before the Kalends of May, after arranging other business, we have caused to be read in public what we proposed to do in this matter. After this had been fully discussed by all, both clergy and people with God's aid reached an agreement, and we set forth in what manner and during what parts of the year the peace should be observed, namely:

That from the first day of the Advent of our Lord through Epiphany, and from the beginning of Septuagesima to the eighth day after Pentecost and through that whole day, and throughout the year on every Sunday, Friday, and Saturday, and on the fast days of the four seasons, and on the eve and the day of all the apostles, and on all days canonically set apart — or which shall in future be set apart — for fasts or feasts, this decree of peace shall be observed; so that both those who travel and those who remain at home may enjoy security and the most entire peace, so that no one may commit murder, arson, robbery, or assault, no one may injure another with a sword, club, or any kind of weapon. Let no one, however irritated by wrong, presume to carry arms, shield, sword, or lance, or any kind of armor, from the Advent of our Lord to the eighth day after Epiphany, and from Septuagesima to the eighth day after Pentecost. On the remaining days, indeed, namely, on Sundays, Fridays, apostles' days, and the vigils of the apostles, and on every day set aside, or to be set aside, for fasts or feasts, arms may be carried, but on this condition, that no injury shall be done in any way to any one.

If it shall be necessary for any one, during the period of the peace, — i.e. from the Advent of our Lord to the eighth day after Epiphany, and from Septuagesima to the eighth day after Pentecost, — to go from one bishopric into another in which the peace is not observed, he may bear arms, but on the condition that he shall not injure any one, except in self-defense if he is attacked; and when he returns into our diocese he shall immediately lay aside his arms. If it shall happen that any castle is besieged during the days which are included within the peace, the besiegers shall cease from attack unless they are set upon by the besieged and compelled to beat the latter back.

And in order that this statute of peace should not be violated by any one rashly or with impunity, a penalty was fixed by the common consent of all, namely: If a free man or noble violates it, i.e. commits homicide, or wounds any one, or is at fault in any manner whatever, he shall be expelled from his lands, without any indulgence on account of the payment of money or the intercession of friends, and his heirs shall take all his property. If he holds a fief, the lord to whom it belongs shall receive it again. Moreover, if it appear that his heirs after his expulsion have furnished him any support or aid, and if they are convicted of it, the estate shall be taken from them and revert to the king. But if they wish to clear themselves of the charge against them, they shall take oath, with twelve who are equally free or equally noble.

If a slave kills a man, he shall be beheaded; if he wounds a man, he shall lose a hand; if he does an injury in any other way with his fist or a club, or by striking with a stone, he shall be shorn and flogged. If, however, he is accused and wishes to prove his innocence, he shall clear himself by the ordeal of cold water, but he must himself be put into the water and no one else in his place. If, however, fearing the sentence decreed against him, he flees, he shall be under a perpetual excommunication; and if he is known to be in any place, letters shall be sent thither, in which it shall be announced to all that he is excommunicate, and that it is

unlawful for any one to associate with him. In the case of boys who have not yet completed their twelfth year, the hand ought not to be cut off; but only in the case of those who are twelve years or more of age. Nevertheless, if boys fight, they shall be whipped and prevented from fighting.

It is not an infringement of the peace if any one orders his delinquent slave, pupil, or any one in any way under his charge, to be chastised with rods or sticks. It is also an exception to this constitution of peace if the lord king publicly orders an expedition to attack the enemies of the kingdom, or is pleased to hold a council to judge the enemies of justice. The peace is not violated if, during the times specified, a duke, or other counts, magistrates, or their substitutes, hold courts and inflict punishment legally on thieves, robbers, and other criminals.

The statute of this noble peace is especially enacted for the safety of those engaged in feuds; but after the end of the peace they are not to dare to rob and plunder in the villages and houses, since the laws and penalties enacted before the institution of the peace are still legally valid to restrain them from crime, and, moreover, because robbers and highwaymen are excluded from this divine peace, and indeed from any peace.

If any one attempt to oppose this pious institution and is unwilling to promise peace to God with the others, or to observe it, no priest in our diocese shall presume to say a mass for him, or shall take any care for his salvation; if he is sick, no Christian shall dare to visit him; on his deathbed he shall not receive the eucharist, unless he repents. The supreme authority of the peace pledged to God and generally extolled by all will be so great that it will be observed not only in our times, but forever among our posterity, because if any one shall presume to infringe or violate it, either now or ages hence, until the end of the world, he is irrevocably excommunicated by us.

The responsibility for carrying out the above-mentioned penalties against the violators of the peace rests no more with the counts, local judges, or officials than with the whole

people in general. They are to be especially careful not to show friendship or hatred, nor to do anything contrary to justice in punishing, nor to conceal crimes, which may be hidden, but to bring them to light. No one is to receive money for the release of those taken in fault, or to attempt to aid the guilty by any favor of any kind, because whoever does this incurs the intolerable damnation of his soul; and all the faithful ought to remember that this peace has not been promised to men, but to God, and therefore must be observed so much the more rigidly and firmly. Wherefore we exhort all in Christ to guard inviolably this necessary contract of peace, and if any one hereafter presumes to violate it, let him be damned by the ban of irrevocable excommunication and by the anathema of eternal perdition. . . .

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Life of the Feudal Nobles: MUNRO, Chapter XIII, pp. 135–147; BÉMONT and MONOD, pp. 257–267.

B. Additional reading in English.

There is no complete and satisfactory treatment in English of the origin and development of feudalism on the continent. Older accounts, like those of Hallam and Guizot, are based, in some instances, upon theories since proved to be erroneous, and are therefore to be avoided. A description of feudal institutions in France, brief but reliable and scientific as far as it goes, may be found in SEIGNOBOS, *The Feudal Régime*, translated by DOW. For a thorough and authoritative analysis of English feudalism, see POLLOCK and MAITLAND, *History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2 vols., especially Book II, "Doctrine of English Law," Chapters I and II.

Suggestive ideas of life in a feudal society may be gathered from the great romances of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which, though in many cases ascribed by their authors to the time of Charlemagne, in

reality depict far more nearly the manners of the age in which they were composed and recited. Two excellent illustrations are Steele's translations of the adventures of Renaud of Montauban and Huon of Bordeaux. See *History of Western Europe*, pp. 254 *sqq.*

C. Materials for advanced study.

LUCHAIRE, *Manuel des institutions françaises, Period des Capétiens directs*, 1892. Part II of this volume (pp. 147–289), "Les institutions féodales," with its abundant footnotes and references, is perhaps the best guide for those wishing to make a careful study of feudal institutions.

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The histories of law by ESMEIN, SCHRÖDER, and VIOLLET, referred to above, p. 57, are heartily to be recommended for their chapters on feudalism.

ASHLEY, *Surveys, Historical and Economic*, 1900. A series of reviews and essays dealing with recent discussions in regard to landholding in the Middle Ages.

DU CANGE, *Glossarium* (see above, p. 12) contains elaborate explanations of feudal terms and usages, with many examples drawn from the documents.

LAURIÈRE, *Glossaire du droit français* (Niort, 1882). A compendious dictionary of technical legal terms.

The sources.

The records which have been preserved of actual feudal contracts and arrangements constitute our chief source of information in regard to the system which gave rise to them. Such records were kept in the archives of the rulers and feudal lords and by the churches and monasteries. A number of collections of these documents have been printed, especially in France. A few examples only are added here; further references will be found in Luchaire's *Manuel* mentioned above.

Livre des vassaux du comté de Champagne et de Brie, edited by LONGNON, Paris, 1869; also the original Latin text in *Documents relatifs au comté de Champagne et de Brie*, 1172–1361; Tome I, 1901 (in the series of *Documents inédits*; see below p. 220). The register kept by the counts of Champagne (1172–1222), enumerating their vassals and describing what each owed in the way of feudal obligations. Longnon has prepared an admirable introduction, in which he gives a clear account of the most important information contained in the register.

Layettes du Trésor des Chartes, edited by TEULET, 3 vols., Paris, 1863–1875. A collection of the documents in the archives of the French kings, together with many from the archives of the great fiefs of Toulouse, Champagne, Valois, etc. This includes much feudal material.

Of the "Cartulaires," or collections of records found in churches and abbeys, may be mentioned:

Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres, edited by GUÉRARD, 2 vols., Paris, 1840. (In the *Collection de documents inédits*.) Particularly valuable for the condition of the rural population in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Cartulaire de l'église de Notre-Dame de Paris, edited by GUÉRARD.

LONGNON, *Atlas historique de la France*, plates XI, XII, and XIII, furnishes far the best maps of feudal France.

The collections from which the illustrations contained in the present chapter were drawn contain many other important examples of feudal arrangements. See list of citations at the opening of this volume, Nos. 70–87.

CHAPTER X

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRANCE

I. The Election of Hugh Capet (987)

Louis V, the last of the direct descendants from Charlemagne, died in 987.[1] Many of the great feudal lords assembled to attend his funeral; before they dispersed they held a meeting, at which Duke Hugh (Capet) presided, to consider the general situation. The archbishop of Rheims, Adalbero, urgently recommended that the all-important matter of choosing a king should be postponed until all the great barons could be brought together. He moved that all those present should pledge themselves by an oath to the "great duke" (Hugh) that they would take no steps in the matter until the proposed meeting should be held. This plan was adopted.

Charles of Lorraine, the uncle of the late king, was, however, unwilling to wait for the decision of the barons, and attempted to induce Adalbero to secure the throne for him. The archbishop put him off on the ground that his companions and supporters were evil men, and that in any case nothing could be done without the consent of the great lords.

Meanwhile the nobles of Gaul who had taken the oath came together at the appointed time at Senlis; when they had all taken their places in the assembly, the duke, having made a sign to the archbishop of Rheims, the latter expressed himself as follows: "King Louis, of divine memory, left no

[1] See *History of Western Europe*, pp. 120 *sqq.*

children ; we must therefore take counsel as to the choice of a successor, in order that the country shall not come to ruin through neglect and the lack of a pilot. Our deliberations on this subject were recently postponed, by common consent, in order that each one might here voice the sentiments with which God might inspire him, and that from all these individual opinions a general and collective decision might be reached.

91. The archbishop of Rheims urges the choice of Hugh instead of Charles of Lorraine. (From *Richer*,[1])

"Now that we are once more assembled together, let us endeavor, in all prudence and rectitude, not to sacrifice reason and truth to our personal likes or dislikes. We know that Charles has his partisans, who claim that the throne belongs to him by right of birth. Regarding the question from this point of view, we reply that the throne cannot be acquired by hereditary right. Nor should one be placed upon it who is not distinguished alike by nobility of body and wisdom of mind, and by his good faith and magnanimity. We see in the annals of history rulers of illustrious origin deposed on account of their unworthiness, and replaced by incumbents of equal, or even of inferior, birth.

"And what is there to recommend Charles of Lorraine? He is feeble and without honor, faith, or character; he has not blushed to become the servitor of a foreign king [the emperor], nor to take to wife a girl of only knightly rank. How could the great duke bear that a woman belonging to the lowest rank of his vassals should be queen and rule over him? How could he give precedence to a woman, when his equals and even his superiors in birth bend the knee before him and place their hands beneath his feet? If you consider this matter carefully, you will see that Charles' fall has been brought about through his own fault rather than that of others.

"Make a choice, therefore, that shall insure the welfare of the state instead of being its ruin. If you wish ill to your

[1] Richer, a monk of Rheims, who was living at the time, gives the only good accounts we possess of the revolution which put the Capetians on the throne of France. See below, p. 220.

country, choose Charles; if you wish to see it prosperous, make Hugh, the glorious duke, king. Do not let yourselves be misled by your sympathy for Charles, nor blinded to the common good by hatred of the duke. For if you blame the good, how can you praise the bad? If you praise the bad, how despise the good? Remember the words of the Scripture: 'Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness.' Choose the duke, therefore; he is the most illustrious among us all by reason of his exploits, his nobility, and his military following. Not only the state, but every individual interest, will find in him a protector. His great-heartedness will render him a father to you all. Who has ever fled to him for aid and been disappointed? Who that has been left in the lurch by his friends has he ever failed to restore to his rights?"

This discourse was received with universal applause, and by unanimous consent the duke was raised to the throne. He was crowned at Noyon on the first of June, by the archbishop and the other bishops, as king of the Gauls, the Bretons, the Danes [Normans?], the Aquitanians, the Goths, the Spaniards, and the Gascons. Surrounded by the nobles of the kingdom, he issued decrees and made laws according to royal custom, judging and disposing of all matters with success.

II. King Robert and his Unruly Vassals

92. King Robert, Hugh's son (996–1031), and his troubles with his vassals. (From *Raoul Glaber*, a contemporary.[1])

King Robert, to whom the kingdom of the Franks then fell, was frequently subjected to the outrages of certain of his insolent subjects, especially of those whom Hugh, his father, and Hugh, his grandfather, or he himself, had, in spite of their base origin, raised from a humble condition to the highest dignities. At their head stood Eudes, the son of Thibaut of Chartres, known as the Trickster, who, with a great number of other less dangerous lords, seemed to revolt with

[1] See below, p. 220.

the more pride the more clear their duty was to show themselves humble and submissive. Among these was Eudes II [count of Blois and of Chartres], son of the Eudes just mentioned, who outdid all others in power and perfidy. Now the count of Troyes and of Meaux, son of Heribert, and the king's cousin, having left no children, Eudes took possession, in spite of the king's opposition, of these vast domains, which ought in justice to have become part of the patrimony of King Robert. This same Eudes became involved in long contests and foreign wars with Foulques of Anjou. Both of them were puffed up with pride, and consequently were rarely in a pacific frame of mind.

William, stepson of Duke Henry and son of Adelbert, duke of the Lombards, was also for a time in revolt against the king. Among his partisans was his son-in-law, Landri, count of Nevers, and Brunon, his brother-in-law, the bishop of Langres. William's wife, Brunon's sister, had borne him sons and daughters. The oldest of the daughters had married Landri, the others were married to William of Poitou and William of Arles. One of his sons, Renauld, married Adelaide, daughter of Richard of Normandy.

This William was a stranger in France, for while still a child he had been carried off to the country of the Lombards; but, thanks to the sagacity of a monk, he had been restored to his mother, who was in Burgundy. In spite of his sojourn abroad, he was able, by his wealth and the number of his soldiers, to vie with the most powerful lords of the region. He encountered, it is true, a sharp resistance from Hugh of Lambert, count of Châlons-sur-Saône. This Lambert was a very remarkable man. Among other notable actions of his life he built in the county of Autun, in honor of St. Mary and St. John the Baptist, the monastery called Paray, where he was later to be honorably buried. Hugh was at the same time bishop of Auxerre, for the king had left him the administration of the county of his father of whom he was the only male offspring. Consequently he viewed all of King Robert's enemies as his own and faithfully maintained his fidelity to the king.

Robert took for wife Constance, a relative of this lord, whose soul was as constant as her name, and who well deserved the crown which she received. Her father was William, first duke of Aquitaine. She bore Robert four sons and two daughters. Now it happened that a certain Hugh, surnamed Beauvais, endeavored for some time to stir up hate and discord between the king and his wife. He even succeeded in rendering the queen hateful to Robert, in the hope that the dissension might turn to his profit. He also succeeded in inducing the king to grant him the title of Count of the Palace. One day, as the king was hunting in the forest accompanied by Count Hugh, who always followed him closely, twelve valiant knights in the hire of the queen's uncle, Foulques of Anjou, killed Hugh under the king's eyes. King Robert was for some time greatly saddened by this event. Nevertheless he reconciled himself with the queen, as he should.

King Robert's care in regard to the selection of bishops.

This prince was a wise servant of God. He always favored the humble and hated the arrogant. When an episcopal chair became vacant in his kingdom through the death of the bishop, he always exercised the greatest care that it should be given to a successor who would prove a useful person to the Church, however low might be his origin, and not to a nobleman accustomed to the disorders of the world. In this way he often aroused the strong opposition of the great of the realm, who despised the lowly and would have chosen men as insolent as themselves.

III. How Louis the Fat (1108–1137) began, with Abbot Suger's Aid, to get the Upper Hand of his Vassals

93. Suger's account of Louis the Fat and his vassals.

The chief adviser of Louis was Suger, abbot of the great monastery of St. Denis, near Paris, who not only greatly aided the king in his task of strengthening the royal power, but wrote a life of him which is one of the most important of the French historical sources.

The young hero, Prince Louis,[1] gay, gracious, and so friendly to all that he passed with some for a person of no force, had hardly come to man's estate when he proved himself an illustrious and courageous defender of his father's realm. He provided for the needs of the Church, and strove to secure peace for those who pray, for those who work, and for the poor. And no one had done this for a long time.

How Prince Louis put an end to a quarrel between his vassals, the abbot of St. Denis and the lord of Montmorency.

Now it came to pass at this time that certain disputes arose between Adam, the venerable abbot of St. Denis, and a nobleman, Burchard, lord of Montmorency [his vassal], concerning certain customs. The controversy waxed so hot and reached such extremes of irritation that all ties of homage were broken between vassal and lord, and the two disputants betook themselves to arms, war, and fire.

When the affair came to the ears of Lord Louis he was sorely vexed. He delayed not, but ordered the aforesaid Burchard, duly summoned, to appear before his father in the castle of Poissy for judgment. Burchard lost his cause, but refused to submit to the judgment. He was not taken prisoner, for that is not the custom of the French, but having withdrawn to his estates, he straightway learned what manner of injury and calamity the king's majesty can inflict on his disobedient subjects. For this famous youth [Prince Louis] carried arms thither against him and his criminal allies, Matthew, count of Beaumont, and Dreux of Mouchy-le-châtel, vigorous and warlike men. He laid waste the land of Burchard with fire, famine, and the sword; and overthrew all the defenses and buildings, except the castle itself, and razed them to the ground. When his enemies undertook to defend themselves in the castle he besieged them with the French and the Flemish troops of his uncle Robert, as well as with his own. By these and other means he brought the humiliated Burchard to repentance, bent him to his will

[1] The earlier chapters of Suger's *Life of Louis* relate to the period before he actually became king. His incompetent father, Philip, appears to have left much of the hard work of government to his energetic son and heir.

and pleasure, and satisfactorily adjusted the dispute which had given rise to the trouble.

How Prince Louis aided a vassal against an oppressor.

Matthew, count of Beaumont, had long cherished hatred against Hugh of Clermont, whose daughter he had married. This Hugh was a noble man, but simple and easy to lead. His son-in-law laid hold upon a castle called Luzarches (a share in which was his by right of marriage), and took it altogether, and left nothing undone in strengthening the tower with arms and soldiers.

What could Hugh do but hasten to the defender of the kingdom, throw himself at his feet, and beg him with tears to have compassion on an old man and succor him, for he was grievously oppressed. "I would rather, O dearest Lord," he said, "that thou shouldst have all my land, because I hold it of thee, than that my unnatural son-in-law should have it. If he robs me of it, I wish to die." His sad misfortune smote the king to the heart. He gave the old man his hand in friendly wise and promised to aid him, and so sent him forth gladdened by hope. And his hope was not vain. For straightway messengers went forth from the court, who sought the count and commanded him, by authority of Hugh's defender, to restore to Hugh the estate of which he had been illegally despoiled; and they summoned him to appear at the court, upon a day appointed, to defend his cause.

The count did not obey this summons, so the defender made haste to execute vengeance. He gathered a great army and went forth against the rebel. He fell upon the castle and attacked it with arms and fire. By hard fighting he stormed and took it; he then placed a strong guard in the keep, and after he had fortified it he restored it to Hugh just as he had promised to do.

Thus the future king of France was ever busy, providing wisely for the administration of the realm, subduing the rebellious, taking or forcing into submission the strongholds which were centers of revolt.

How the French king gained possession of the castle of Montlhéry, which had long troubled the peace.

For example, Guy Troussel, son of that violent man and troubler of the kingdom, Milo of Montlhéry, came back home from an expedition to the Holy Sepulcher, weakened by the hardships of the long journey and by many trials. He had been moved by exceeding great fear of Corbaran,[1] and had descended from the wall of Antioch and left the army of God beleaguered within, and so he was forsaken by all. Fearing that his only daughter might in consequence be deprived of her heritage, he yielded to the desire and persuasions of Philip, the king, and of Louis, his son, who ardently longed for his castle, and gave his daughter in marriage to Philip, the king's younger son. . . .

When the castle of Montlhéry fell in this wise into their hands, the king and his son rejoiced as if they had plucked a straw from their eyes or had torn down bars by which they had been confined. And, indeed, we have heard the father say to his son Louis, "Go, son Louis, keep that tower with all vigilance, whose ravages have well-nigh made us grow old, and whose wiles and criminal frauds have never let me rest in good peace and quiet."

1490

Indeed, its unfaithfulness made the faithful faithless, the faithless most faithless. It brought together the treacherous from far and near, and no ill was done in the whole kingdom without its support. And since the territory of Paris was commanded on the river Seine by Corbeil, midway by Montlhéry, on the right by Châteaufort, there resulted such confusion and chaos in the communications between the men of Paris and of Orleans that neither could go to visit the others without the consent of these faithless men, unless they traveled with a strong guard. But the marriage of which we have spoken tore down the barrier and made travel easy between the two cities.

Suger well understood the duties of a monarch in that disorderly period, and gives many illustrations of the obstacles to be overcome before a real kingdom of France could be created.

[1] I.e. Kerbogha, Emir of Antioch.

Suger's account of the position and duties of a mediæval French king.

A king, when he takes the royal power, vows to put down with his strong right arm insolent tyrants whensoever he sees them vex the state with endless wars, rejoice in rapine, oppress the poor, destroy the churches, give themselves over to lawlessness which, and it be not checked, would flame out into ever greater madness; for the evil spirits who instigate them are wont cruelly to strike down those whom they fear to lose, but give free rein to those whom they hope to hold, while they add fuel to the flames which are to devour their victims to all eternity.

Such an utterly abandoned man was Thomas of Marle. While King Louis was busied with many wars, he laid waste the territories of Laon, Rheims, and Amiens, devouring like a raging wolf. He spared not the clergy — fearing not the vengeance of the Church — nor the people for humanity's sake. And the devil aided him, for the success of the foolish does ever lead them to perdition. Slaying all men, spoiling all things, he seized two manors, exceeding rich, from the abbey of the nuns of St. John of Laon. He fortified the two exceeding strong castles, Crécy and Nogent, with a marvelous wall and very high towers, as if they had been his own; and made them like to a den of dragons and a cave of robbers, whence he did waste almost the whole country with fire and pillage; and he had no pity.

The Church of France could no longer bear this great evil; wherefore the clergy, who had met together in a general synod at Beauvais, proceeded to pass sentence of condemnation upon the enemy of the Church's true spouse, Jesus Christ. The venerable Cono, bishop of Praeneste and legate of the holy Roman Church, troubled past endurance by the plaints of churches, of the orphans, of the poor, did smite this ruthless tyrant with the sword of the blessed Peter, which is general anathema. He did also ungird the knightly sword belt from him, though he was absent, and by the judgment of all declared him infamous, a scoundrel, unworthy the name of Christian.

And the king was moved by the plaints of this great council and led an army against him right quickly. He had the

clergy, to whom he was ever humbly devoted, in his company, and marched straight against the castle of Crécy. Well fortified was it; yet he took it unprepared because his soldiers smote with an exceeding strong hand; or rather, because the hand of the Lord fought for him. He stormed the strongest tower as if it were the hut of a peasant, and put to confusion the wicked men and piously destroyed the impious. Because they had no pity upon other men, he cut them down without mercy. None could behold the castle tower flaming like the fires of hell and not exclaim, "The whole universe will fight for him against these madmen."

How the king took the castles of Crécy and Nogent.

After he had won this victory, the king, who was ever swift to follow up his advantage, pushed forward toward the other castle, called Nogent. There came to him a man who said: "Oh, my lord king, it should be known to thy Serenity that in that wicked castle dwell exceeding wicked men who are worthy to lie in hell, and there only. Those are they who, when thou didst issue commands to destroy the commune of Laon, did burn with fire not only the city of Laon, but the noble church of the Mother of God, and many others beside. And well-nigh all the noble men of the city suffered martyrdom because they were true to their faith and defended their lord the bishop. And these evil men feared not to raise their hands against thy venerable Bishop Gaudin, the anointed of the Lord, defender of the church, but did him most cruelly to death, and exposed his naked body on the open road for beasts and birds of prey to feed upon; but first they cut off his finger with the pontifical ring. And they have agreed together, persuaded by the wicked Thomas, to attack and hold your tower."

The king was doubly animated by these words, and he attacked the wicked castle, broke open the abominable places of confinement, like prisons of hell, and set free the innocent; the guilty he punished with very heavy punishment. He alone avenged the injuries of many. Athirst for justice, he ordained that whatsoever murderous wretches he came upon should be fastened to a gibbet, and left as common

food for the greed of kites, crows, and vultures. And this they deserved who had not feared to raise their hand against the Lord's anointed.

The king attacks a certain Adam in his tower at Amiens.

When he had taken these two adulterine castles and given back to the monastery of St. John the domains that had been seized, he returned to the city of Amiens and laid siege to a tower of that city which was held by a certain Adam, a cruel tyrant who was laying waste the churches and all the regions round about. He held the place besieged for hard upon two years, and at last forced those who defended it to give themselves up. When he had taken it he destroyed it utterly, and thus brought peace to the realm. He fulfilled most worthily the duty of a king who beareth not the sword in vain, and he deprived the wicked Thomas and his heirs forever of the lordship over that city.

The king brings the unjust Aymon to his senses.

It is known that kings have long arms; and to show that the king's strength was not confined within the narrow boundaries of certain places, a man, Alard de Guillebaut by name, a clever man, with an oily tongue, came from the frontiers of Berri to the king. He laid the grievance of his stepson before his lord the king, and entreated him right humbly, that he would summon by his royal authority a certain noble baron, Aymon by name, surnamed Vais-Vache, lord of Bourbon, who refused to do him justice. Moreover he asked that the king should restrain Aymon from despoiling, with presumptuous audacity, his nephew, the son of his older brother, Archambaut, and to fix according to French custom what portion of goods each of them ought to have.

Now the king loved justice and had compassion on the churches and the poor. And he feared lest these wars should make wickedness flourish, and lest the poor might be vexed and bear the punishment for the pride of others. So, after vainly summoning Aymon, who would not trust himself to trial and refused to obey the summons, Louis gave way neither to pleasure nor to sloth, but marched with a great army toward the territory of Bourges. There he directed his forces against Aymon's castle of Germigni, which was well fortified, and strove to reduce it by a vigorous assault.

Then did Aymon see that he could not hold out, and he gave over hoping to save himself or his castle. He saw only this one way to safety — that he should throw himself at the king's feet. There he prostrated himself again and again, while all the crowd marveled, and prayed the king to have compassion upon him. He gave up his castle, and, humble now as he had once been proud, submitted himself utterly to the king's justice. The king kept the castle and took Aymon into France to be judged there; and right justly and piously, by the decision and arbitration of the French, did he settle the dispute which had arisen between the uncle and nephew.

King Louis spent freely both of money and the sweat of his brow to relieve the sufferings and oppressions of many. He was used to make many such expeditions throughout the country for the relief of churches and of the poor, but we must pass over these, as it would but weary the reader to narrate them. . . .

Troubles between the king of France and the king of England.

Now Louis, the king of the French, by virtue of his superior dignity, bore himself toward Henry, king of the English and duke of the Normans, as toward a vassal. But the king of the English, for that he had wealth in marvelous abundance and a noble kingdom, was impatient of his inferiority. So he agreed together with his nephew Theobald, the count of the palace, and many other disaffected men of the kingdom, to cast off Louis' overlordship and strive to rouse the kingdom and stir up old troubles. The king of England and Count Theobald, because Normandy and the county of Chartres lie close together, united to attack the king's nearest frontier. They sent Stephen, count of Mortagne, brother of one and nephew of the other, with an army to another region, in Brie, for they feared that the king might suddenly occupy this territory while the count was absent. And the king of France did not restrain himself, nor spare Normandy, nor Chartres, nor Brie. Stationed in the midst of all these lands as in a circle, he laid waste now one, now another; and he often gave battle to make known the power of the king's majesty.

IV. Philip Augustus and his Vassals

94. Philip suppresses a rebellion and extends the royal domain. (From Rigord's *Life of Philip Augustus.*)

The extracts from Suger, given above, show feudal anarchy in France at the opening of the twelfth century, and exhibit the ideal king as a ruler who suppressed disorder and protected the weak, especially the Church, against the strong. The king as an *organizer* of the realm was a conception that could hardly exist until the more powerful of the turbulent nobles had been subdued. Philip Augustus (1180–1223) carried on the work of consolidation so well begun by Louis the Fat with Suger's aid, and was able before the end of his long reign to begin to play the rôle of a king in the fuller sense of the word. He had, however, like the youthful St. Louis later, to meet a general revolt at the opening of his reign.

In the first year of the reign of Philip Augustus[1] and the fifteenth year of his age, certain quarrels arose among the great of the kingdom. These were really a cloak for a league which the nobles of the realm — prompted by the enemy of the Church's peace, the devil — dared to form against their lord, Philip Augustus. They gathered an army and began to lay waste the king's domain.

When the most Christian king, Philip Augustus, heard of this iniquity he waxed exceeding wroth and led against the rebels an army — an infinite multitude. Before many days had passed, he put them all to flight. He pursued them with such vigor and might that, through the miraculous intervention of God, he forced them all to submit to him, and compelled them by his exceeding great strength to do his will in all things.

[1] The title "Augustus" was conferred on Philip by his biographer Rigord, a monk of St. Denis, who explains in his preface that Augustus is derived from the Latin *augeo*, "to augment," — namely, the bounds of the realm.

While the following extract from Rigord's *Life of Philip Augustus* is not correct in all details, it illustrates the way in which the kings of France increased their domains.

Philip Augustus acquires Vermandois.

In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 1184, the fifth year of Philip Augustus' reign and the twentieth of his age, a dispute arose, as is not uncommon in times of change, between Philip, most Christian king of the French, and Philip, count of Flanders, about a certain district commonly called Vermandois.

The king claimed that all Vermandois, with its castles, villages, and vills, belonged by right of inheritance and succession to the kings of the French; and he offered to prove it all by the testimony of clergy and laity, — archbishops, bishops, counts, viscounts, and other nobles.

The count of Flanders replied that he had held the land in question during the lifetime of the most Christian king Louis, of blessed memory, and had possessed it in peace, without any dispute, during many years, and was firmly resolved never to give it up so long as he lived. For the count believed that, since the king was but a lad, he could easily divert his mind from this project by promises and flattering words. Besides, it is said that many nobles were ready to support him; but, as the proverb says, "They are sons of the winds, they weave cobwebs."

At length Philip Augustus followed the advice of the princes and barons and called together all the nobles of his lands in the beautiful castle of Karnopalis, commonly called Compiègne. He took counsel with them, and collected a very large army at the city which is called Amiens.

When the count of Flanders heard of the king's coming his heart rejoiced. He collected an army to oppose Philip, directed his forces against his lord, the king, and swore by the strength of his arm that he could defend himself against all men. Thus in the fifth year of his reign and the twentieth of his age the king entered into that land with his army,

which covered the face of the earth like locusts. When the count of Flanders saw the king's army, that it was very great and strong, his spirit was troubled, and the hearts of his people became as water, so that they sought safety in flight. Then the count took counsel with his own, and sent messengers to call to his presence Theobald, count of Blois, chief of the king's knights and seneschal of France, and William, archbishop of Rheims — both uncles of the king, to whom the direction of affairs had been intrusted at this time because they were faithful to the king.

The count of Flanders used them as intermediaries and through them addressed the king in this wise: "Let thine anger toward us cease, Lord. Come to us in peaceful guise, and use our service as shall be pleasing in thy sight. The land which thou desirest, my lord king, Vermandois, with all the castles and vills belonging to it, I will restore to thee, my lord king, in its entirety, freely, and without delay. But if it shall please your royal majesty, I beg that the castle of St. Quentin and the castle of Péronne may be granted to me as a kingly gift to be held so long as I live. After my death they shall, without controversy, devolve upon thee or thy successors, the kings of the French."

When Philip, most Christian king of the French, had heard this message, he called together all the archbishops, bishops, abbots, counts, viscounts, and all the barons who had come with one accord to subdue the insolence of the count of Flanders and to humble his pride. He took counsel with them, and they answered as with one voice that this which the count of Flanders proposed to the king should be done. When this decision had been reached, the count of Flanders was introduced, and before all the nobles and the throng gathered there, he restored to Philip, the lawful king, the land he had so long wrongfully held; and then and there, after he had restored the land before them all, he put the king in possession of it.

Further, he promised the king upon his oath to make good, without delay, and according to the king's will, all the losses he had inflicted upon Baldwin, count of Hainault, and other

friends of the king. And thus was peace restored between the king and the count as by a miracle, for it was concluded without shedding human blood. And when all the people heard of these things they were filled with great joy, and praised and blessed God who saves those who put their hope in him.

V. Philip Augustus and John of England

In 1201 John, king of England, came to Paris and was received with much honor by King Philip. When he withdrew to his own lands again, he and Philip appeared to be upon the best terms, and the French king was able to turn his attention to a couple of recalcitrant counts who were "persecuting the churches of God and despoiling them of their goods," and who refused to obey his summons to appear at his court. But meanwhile new difficulties arose with King John. These are explained by Rigord as follows:

94a. How Philip Augustus took Normandy from King John. (From *Rigord.*)

John of England refuses to do homage to Philip Augustus.

The king of the French summoned John, king of England, as his liegeman, holding from him the counties of Poitou and Anjou and the duchy of Aquitaine, to come two weeks after Easter to Paris to give a satisfactory answer to the charges which Philip made against him. But since the king of England, instead of coming in person on the day indicated, did not even send a satisfactory reply, the king of the French, with the advice of his princes and barons, assembled an army, entered Normandy, and took the little fort of Boutavant, which he destroyed. Orgueil, Mortemer, and all the land which Hugh of Gournay held soon fell into his power. At Gournay he made Arthur [John's brother] a knight and delivered to him the county of Brittany, which had fallen to him by hereditary right. He even added the counties of Anjou and of Poitou, which he had acquired by right of arms. Lastly, he gave him the support of two hundred knights, with a considerable sum of money. Then the king received

Arthur as his liegeman. The latter, with the king's permission, left him in July.

A few days later Arthur rashly advanced with a small troop of men into the territory of the king of England, who suddenly came upon him with a vast multitude of armed men, defeated him, and carried him away prisoner with Hugh le Brun, Geoffrey of Lusignan, and several other knights. King Philip, having learned this news, immediately abandoned the siege of the castle of Arques and appeared with his army before Tours, took the town, and set fire to it. The king of England, on his side, arrived, at the head of his troops, after the departure of the king of France and destroyed the same city with its castle.

Perfidious conduct of King John.

A few days after, the king of England took the viscount of Limoges and carried him off with him. Although Hugh le Brun, viscount of Thouars, Geoffrey of Lusignan, and the viscount of Limoges were all liegemen of the king of England, nevertheless they allied themselves with the king of the French, both by oath and through hostages. For King John had perfidiously carried off the wife of Hugh le Brun, daughter of the count of Angoulême, and this outrage, added to other grievances of the same lords of Poitou, alienated their fidelity to King John. The following winter the two kings discontinued their war after having guarded their fortresses, without, however, concluding either peace or a truce. . . .

In the year of our Lord 1202, in the fortnight following Easter, the king of the French had raised an army, entered Aquitaine, and, with the aid of the people of Poitou and of Brittany, had taken several fortresses. It was at this time that the count of Alençon formed an alliance with King Philip and put his whole land under the protection of this prince. The king then returned to Normandy with his army, and took possession of Conques and the island of Andelys and of Vaudreuil.

Innocent III tries to reëstablish peace between Philip and John.

While these things were taking place in France, Pope Innocent III sent the abbot of Casemar to the king of the French and the king of England with the view of reëstablishing peace. Conformably to the orders of the pope his

lord, the abbot joined to himself the abbot of Trois-Fontaines, and with his aid made clear to the two princes the wishes of the pope. The pope ordered them to convoke the archbishops, bishops, and the other great people of the whole kingdom, in order, while guarding their respective rights, to make peace in the presence of the assembly and to reëstablish in their former estate the monasteries and nunneries, as well as the churches, which had been destroyed in the course of their wars. Philip received this injunction at Mantes in the week of the Assumption of the most blessed Virgin Mary. He immediately appealed in the presence of the bishops, abbots, and barons of the kingdom, who submitted the whole case to the examination of the sovereign pontiff.

The last day of the same month the king of France assembled an army and besieged Rodepont. In about a fortnight, having raised about the place his movable wooden towers and set up his other machines of war, he took the town. He secured as prisoners twenty knights who had bravely defended themselves, a hundred squires, and thirty crossbowmen.

Philip attacks and takes Castle Gaillard.

When he had recovered his strength and that of his army he laid siege to Castle Gaillard, in the month of September following. This was a strong fortress which King Richard had had constructed upon a high rock which dominated the Seine near the island of Andelys. The king of the French and his army were delayed by the siege of this place for five months, for they were unwilling to undertake an assault lest much blood should be spilled and they might damage the walls and the tower. They hoped to force the besieged to surrender through hunger and deprivation. [Later the king decided upon an attack and successfully took the fortress by assault.] . . .

Philip conquers Normandy.

In the year of our Lord 1203, Philip, king of the French, having assembled his army, entered Normandy on the 2d of May, took Falaise, a very strong castle, Domfront, and a very rich town which the people call Caen. He also brought under his control all the neighboring districts as far as Mont St. Michel. The Normans then came to ask for

mercy and delivered up the towns which had been confided to their protection, — Coutances, Bayeux, Lisieux, and Avranches, with their castles and suburbs. As for Evraux and Séez, he already had them in his power. Of all Normandy there only remained Rouen, — a very rich town, full of noble men, the capital of all Normandy, — and Verneuil and Arques, strong towns well situated and well defended. Returning from Caen, the king, having left garrisons in the various cities and castles, laid siege to Rouen.

The Normans, seeing that they could not defend themselves, nor could expect any aid from the king of England, began to think of surrender; nevertheless they judiciously took precautions in order to remain faithful to the king of England. They humbly asked the king of the French to grant a truce of thirty days, which should close at the feast of St. John, for their own city [Rouen] and for Verneuil and Arques, which were in league with Rouen. In this interval they might be able to send to the king of England and ask for aid in so pressing a danger. If he should refuse, the Normans agreed to place their goods and persons, the city and the said castles, in the hands of the victorious Philip, king of the French, and to give as hostages sixty sons of the burghers of Rouen.

At the feast of St. John, the burghers, having received no aid from the king of England, fulfilled their promise and delivered to the king of the French their city of Rouen, a rich town, the capital of all Normandy, with the two castles of which we have spoken above. Three hundred and sixteen years had elapsed since this city and all Normandy had ceased to belong to the kings of France. The Northman Rollo, who had come with his pagan followers, had taken it by right of arms in the time of Charles the Simple.

VI. St. Louis

We are particularly fortunate in possessing full and interesting accounts of St. Louis, who was the very ideal of a devout and sagacious mediæval ruler. The

most famous of his biographers was the courtly Sire de Joinville, who was brought up at the elegant and refined court of the counts of Champagne. He was born in 1225, and although eleven years younger than the king, he became his friend and companion, and had excellent opportunities to acquaint himself with the king's character and to follow the events of his reign. Joinville was one of the first to desert Latin and write a serious historical work in French.

95. Revolt of the barons at the opening of the reign of Louis IX (From *Joinville.*)

As I have heard say, our sainted king Louis was born on the feast of St. Mark the evangelist, after Easter [1214]. . . . God, in whom he put his trust, watched over him always, from his infancy to the end, but especially in his childhood, when he had greatest need of his care, as you shall hear later. God saved his soul through the pious care of his mother, who taught him to believe in God and to love him, and kept him surrounded by devout and religious people. Even as a child she made him attend the daily services and listen to the sermons on feast days. He remembered hearing his mother often say that she would rather that he were dead than that he should commit a mortal sin.

In his youth he had sore need of God's aid, for his mother, who came from Spain, had neither relatives nor friends in the whole kingdom of France. And when the barons of France saw that their king was a child and the queen mother a foreign woman, they made the count of Boulogne their head and treated him in all things as their lord. After the king had been crowned there were certain barons who demanded that the queen should give them extensive lands, and when she would not they assembled at Corbeil. And the sainted king has told me how he and his mother, who were at Montlhéry, dared not return to Paris until their supporters there came for them in arms. He told me, too, that all the way from Montlhéry to Paris the roads were full of men, armed and unarmed, and that they all called on

our Lord to grant the king a long and happy life and defend him from his enemies. And God did even so, as you shall hear.

How St. Louis and his knights fought in Egypt.

Louis got the better of his many enemies at home, and in 1248 went on a crusade directed against the sultan of Egypt, who had gained possession of Jerusalem four years before. Joinville accompanied his king and gives many vivid accounts of the fighting in Egypt.

While I was on foot with my knights, and wounded, as I have just been relating, the king came along with his own body of troops, amidst a great shouting and noise of trumpets and kettledrums, and halted on the highroad. Never have I seen knight so noble, for he stood head and shoulders above all his attendants, a golden helmet on his head, and in his hand a German sword.

As soon as he came to a halt the good knights in his following, whom I have already named to you, rushed pell mell upon the Turks. And then followed a splendid feat of arms; none drew bow or crossbow, but it was a combat at close quarters, with sword and battle-ax, between the Turks and our people, all mixed up together. One of my squires, who had escaped [from a previous encounter] with my banner and returned to me, loaned me one of my Flemish stallions, which I mounted and rode off side by side with the king.

[In the midst of a council of war as to the course to be pursued] the constable, Monseigneur Imbert de Beaujeu came to the king to tell him that his brother, the count of Artois, was defending himself in a house at Mansourah and needed aid. The king said, "Constable, go you ahead and I will follow you." And I said to the constable that I would go with him and be his knight, for which he thanked me heartily. So we set out for Mansourah. . . .

As we came down along the river bank, between the brook and the river, we saw the king near the river, and that the Turks were pushing back our troops toward the river, driving them on with furious strokes of battle-ax and sword. So

great was the havoc that some of our people thought to escape by swimming across the river to the duke of Bourgoyne's side, which, however, they were unable to do, for the horses were weary and the day grown very hot; so that, as we came down, we saw the river full of lances and shields, and of drowning men and horses who perished there.

We came presently to a little bridge or culvert over the brook, and I said to the constable that we would better stay and guard it, "for, if we leave it, they will rush across it to attack the king, and if our men are assailed from both sides at once they are likely to succumb." So we did this. And men said that we should all have been lost that day if it had not been for the king's being there in person. For the sire of Courtenay and Monseigneur Jean de Saillenay told me how six Turks seized the king's horse by the bridle and were going to take him prisoner, and how he, with great slashing sword cuts, delivered himself from them unaided. And when his men saw how the king defended himself they took heart, and some of them gave up trying to get across the river and came to his support. . . .

[The constable went to seek aid, leaving Joinville and two other knights to hold the bridge, which they did, in spite of many wounds. At sunset the constable brought a company of crossbowmen, who ranged themselves in front of us; and when the Saracens saw them preparing to discharge their crossbows they took to flight and left us. Then the constable said to me, "Seneschal, this is well done; now you must go to the king, and do not leave him until he dismounts at his own tent." Just as I reached the king, Monseigneur Jean de Valery came and said, "Sire, Monseigneur de Châtillon requests that you assign to him the rear guard." This the king did gladly, and then we set out. As we went along I got him to take off his helmet, and I lent him my iron one so that he might get some air. . . .

After we had passed the river there came to him Henry de Ronnay, marshal of the hospital, and kissed his hand, all in armor as it was. The king asked if he could give him any tidings of his brother, the count of Artois, and he said

he could indeed, for he was sure the count of Artois was in paradise. "But O sire," said the marshal, "be of good comfort; for never did a king of France win greater honor than has fallen to you. You have swum a river in order to fight your enemies; you have routed them and driven them from the battlefield, have captured their tents and engines of warfare, and to-night you shall sleep in their camp." And the king replied that God be praised for all that he had done for him; but great tears fell from his eyes.

The following anecdote shows the king's charming courtesy as well as his extreme conscientiousness.

How St. Louis thought people should dress.

One day in Pentecost the saintly king was at Corbeil, where there were eighty chevaliers. After dinner the king came down into the courtyard beneath the chapel and was talking in the gateway with the count of Brittany, the father of the present duke, God keep him! Master Robert de Sorbonne[1] came seeking me and, taking me by the hem of my cloak, led me to the king; and all the other gentlemen followed us. So I said to Master Robert, "Master Robert, what do you want with me?" and he said to me, "If the king should seat himself here in the courtyard and you should go and sit above him on the same bench, would you think yourself blameworthy?" And I replied that I should. And he said, "Then you are also blameworthy when you wear finer clothes than the king, for you array yourself in ermine and cloth of green, which the king never does."

"But," I said, "Master Robert, saving your grace, I am not to blame in wearing ermine and cloth of green, for it is the habit of dress that has come down to me from my father and my mother. But you, on the contrary, are much to be blamed, for your father was a villein and your mother was a villein, and you have forsaken the dress of your father and your mother, and wear finer camelot than the king." And I took the skirt of his outer coat and that of the king's and

[1] The founder of the college which grew into the famous divinity school at Paris.

said to him, "Look now, if I do not speak the truth." Then the king set himself to speak in defense of Master Robert with all his might.

Afterward my lord the king called my lord Philip, his son, the father of the present king, and King Thibaut,[1] and, seating himself at the entrance to his oratory, he put his hand on the ground and said to them, "Sit here close by me so that no one can hear us." "O, sire," they said, "we dare not seat ourselves so close to you." Then he said to me, "Seneschal, sit here," which I did, and so close to him that my garments touched his. Then he made them sit down after me and said to them, "You did very wrong, you who are my sons, not to do at once what I commanded; see that it does not happen again." And they said that it should not.

Then he said to me that he had summoned us in order to confess to me that he had been wrong in defending Master Robert against me. "But," he said, "I saw that he was so thunderstruck that he was in sore need of my aid. However, do not mind anything I may have said in defense of Master Robert; for, as the seneschal told him, you should always dress neatly and well, for your ladies will love you the better for it, and your servants value you the more. As the philosopher says, one should array oneself, both as to clothing and arms, in such a manner that the men of sense of his generation cannot cry that he dresses too well, nor the young people that he dresses too poorly."

St. Louis listens to lawsuits under the oak tree.

When it was summer King Louis went and sat him down in the forest of Vincennes after mass, taking his place under an oak tree, and making us sit down by him. Then those who had anything to say to him might come without the interposition of any usher or other attendant. Then he would ask of them, "Is there any one here who has any case to be decided?" and those who had a case would rise; then he would say, "All must keep silence, for we must take up one matter after another." And then he called M. de Fontaines and M. Geoffrey de Villette, and said to one of them,

[1] Of Navarre, the son-in-law of St. Louis.

"Hand the brief to me"; and when he saw anything to better in the words of those who spoke for another, he corrected them with his own mouth.

Sometimes in summer I have seen him, in order to dispose of his people's affairs, come into the garden in Paris dressed in a coat of camelot, with a sleeveless garment of linsey-woolsey, a cloak of black taffeta about his shoulders, his hair carefully dressed, but with no headdress save a hat of white peacock feathers. He would have carpets spread down so that we might sit about him, and all the people who had business to bring before him stood round about. And then he would attend to them in the manner I have described above in the forest of Vincennes.

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B. Additional reading in English.

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Great collections of sources for French history.

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Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, — often cited as "Bouquet," the name of the Benedictine monk who was the first editor of the collection in the eighteenth century, Paris, 1738–1876, 23 thick

folio volumes. Begun like the *Histoire littéraire* (see below) by the monks of St. Maur. The more recent volumes are well edited and supplied with useful indices. This series is being continued in quarto.

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Historical works by the monks of St. Denis

Rigord, like Suger, was a member of the great monastery of St. Denis. Their historical work was continued for two centuries by their fellow-monks, who constituted themselves royal historiographers. The best known of this group in the thirteenth century was William of Nangis (d. *ca.* 1300), who compiled a chronicle and lives of St. Louis and Philip III, which are valuable in parts, but have little of the charm of Joinville (BOUQUET, Vol. XX).

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CHAPTER XI

ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

I. King Alfred's Interest in Learning

King Alfred, in his introduction to the *Pastoral Charge*, by Gregory the Great, which he translated into Anglo-Saxon, gives a remarkable picture of the conditions of the time.

96. King Alfred's introduction to his translation of the *Pastoral Charge*.

King Alfred bids greet Bishop Wærferth with loving words and with friendship; and I let it be known to thee that it has very often come into my mind what wise men there formerly were throughout England, both of sacred and secular orders; and what happy times there were then; and how the kings who had power over the nation in those days obeyed God and his ministers; how they preserved peace, morality, and order at home, and at the same time enlarged their territory abroad; and how they prospered both in war and in wisdom; and also the sacred orders, how zealous they were both in teaching and learning, and in all the services they owed to God; and how foreigners came to this land in search of wisdom and instruction, the which we should now have to get from abroad if we were to have them.

So general became the decay of learning in England that there were very few on this side of the Humber who could understand the rituals in English, or translate a letter from Latin into English; and I believe that there were not many beyond the Humber. There were so few, in fact, that I cannot remember a single person south of the Thames when I came to the throne. Thanks be to God Almighty that we now have some teachers among us. And therefore I command thee to disengage thyself, as I believe thou art willing, from worldly matters as often as thou art able, that thou

mayest apply the wisdom which God has given thee wherever thou canst. Consider what punishments would come upon us if we neither loved wisdom ourselves nor suffered other men to obtain it: we should love the name only of Christian, and very few of the Christian virtues.

When I thought of all this I remembered also how I saw the country before it had been all ravaged and burned; how the churches throughout the whole of England stood filled with treasures and books. There was also a great multitude of God's servants, but they had very little knowledge of the books, for they could not understand anything of them because they were not written in their own language. As if they had said: "Our forefathers, who formerly held these places, loved wisdom, and through it they obtained wealth and bequeathed it to us. In this we can still see their traces, but we cannot follow them, and therefore we have lost both the wealth and the wisdom, because we would not incline our hearts after their example."

When I remembered all this, I wondered extremely that the good and wise men who were formerly all over England, and had learned perfectly all the books, did not wish to translate them into their own language. But again I soon answered myself and said, "Their own desire for learning was so great that they did not suppose that men would ever be so careless, and that learning would so decay; and they wished, moreover, that the wisdom in this land might increase with our knowledge of languages." Then I remembered how the law was first known in Hebrew, and when the Greeks had learned it how they translated the whole of it into their own language, and all other books besides. And again the Romans, when they had learned it, translated the whole of it, through learned interpreters, into their own language. And also all other Christian nations translated a part of it into their own language.

Therefore it seems better to me, if you agree, for us also to translate some of the books which are most needful for all men to know into the language which we can all understand; and for you to see to it, as can easily be done if we

have tranquillity enough, that all the free-born youth now in England, who are rich enough to be able to devote themselves to it, be set to learn as long as they are not fit for any other occupation, until that they are well able to read English writing; and let those afterwards be taught more in the Latin language who are to continue learning, and be promoted to a higher rank.

When I remembered how the knowledge of Latin had decayed throughout England, and yet that many could read English writing, I began, among other various and manifold troubles of this kingdom, to translate into English the book which is called in Latin *Pastoralis*, and in English *Shepherd's Book*, sometimes word by word, and sometimes according to the sense, as I had learned it from Plegmund, my archbishop, and Asser, my bishop, and Grimbold, my mass-priest, and John, my mass-priest. And when I had learned it, as I could best understand it and most clearly interpret it, I translated it into English.

I will send a copy of this to every bishopric in my kingdom; and on each copy there shall be a clasp worth fifty mancuses. And I command, in God's name, that no man take the clasp from the book, or the book from the minster. It is uncertain how long there may be such learned bishops, as thanks be to God there now are nearly everywhere; therefore I wish these copies always to remain in their places, unless the bishop wish to take them with him, or they be lent out anywhere, or any one wish to make a copy of them.

II. The Battle of Hastings: English and Normans

97. Harold and William prepare for battle. (From William of Malmesbury's *History of the English Kings*.)

The courageous leaders mutually prepared for battle, each according to his national custom. The English, as we have heard, passed the night without sleep, in drinking and singing, and in the morning proceeded without delay against the enemy. All on foot, armed with battle-axes, and covering themselves in front by the juncture of their shields, they formed an impenetrable body which would assuredly have

secured their safety that day had not the Normans, by a feigned flight, induced them to open their ranks, which till that time, according to their custom, had been closely compacted. King Harold himself, on foot, stood with his brothers near the standard in order that, so long as all shared equal danger, none could think of retreating. This same standard William sent, after his victory, to the pope; it was sumptuously embroidered with gold and precious stones, and represented the figure of a man fighting.

On the other hand, the Normans passed the whole night in confessing their sins, and received the communion of the Lord's body in the morning. Their infantry, with bows and arrows, formed the vanguard, while their cavalry, divided into wings, was placed in the rear. The duke, with serene countenance, declaring aloud that God would favor his as being the righteous side, called for his arms; and when, through the haste of his attendants, he had put on his hauberk the hind part before, he corrected the mistake with a laugh, saying, "The power of my dukedom shall be turned into a kingdom." Then starting the song of Roland, in order that the warlike example of that hero might stimulate the soldiers, and calling on God for assistance, the battle commenced on both sides, and was fought with great ardor, neither side giving ground during the greater part of the day.

The Normans, by a feigned retreat, rout the English.

Observing this, William gave a signal to his troops, that, feigning flight, they should withdraw from the field. By means of this device the solid phalanx of the English opened for the purpose of cutting down the fleeing enemy and thus brought upon itself swift destruction; for the Normans, facing about, attacked them, thus disordered, and compelled them to fly. In this manner, deceived by a stratagem, they met an honorable death in avenging their country; nor indeed were they at all without their own revenge, for, by frequently making a stand, they slaughtered their pursuers in heaps. Getting possession of an eminence, they drove back the Normans, who in the heat of pursuit were struggling up the slope, into the valley beneath, where, by hurling their

javelins and rolling down stones on them as they stood below, the English easily destroyed them to a man. Besides, by a short passage with which they were acquainted, they avoided a deep ditch and trod underfoot such a multitude of their enemies in that place that the heaps of bodies made the hollow level with the plain. This alternating victory, first of one side and then of the other, continued so long as Harold lived to check the retreat; but when he fell, his brain pierced by an arrow, the flight of the English ceased not until night.

The author discreetly declares that the leaders were equally brave.

In the battle both leaders distinguished themselves by their bravery. Harold, not content with the functions of a general and with exhorting others, eagerly assumed himself the duties of a common soldier. He was constantly striking down the enemy at close quarters, so that no one could approach him with impunity, for straightway both horse and rider would be felled by a single blow. So it was at long range, as I have said, that the enemy's deadly arrow brought him to his death. One of the Norman soldiers gashed his thigh with a sword, as he lay prostrate; for which shameful and cowardly action he was branded with ignominy by William and expelled from the army.

William, too, was equally ready to encourage his soldiers by his voice and by his presence, and to be the first to rush forward to attack the thickest of the foe. He was everywhere fierce and furious; he lost three choice horses, which were that day killed under him. The dauntless spirit and vigor of the intrepid general, however, still held out. Though often called back by the kind remonstrance of his bodyguard, he still persisted until approaching night crowned him with complete victory. And no doubt the hand of God so protected him that the enemy should draw no blood from his person, though they aimed so many javelins at him.

The character and habits of the English.

This was a fatal day to England, and melancholy havoc was wrought in our dear country during the change of its lords. For it had long before adopted the manners of the Angles, which had indeed altered with the times; for in the first years of their arrival they were barbarians in

their look and manner, warlike in their usages, heathens in their rites.

After embracing the faith of Christ, by degrees and, in process of time, in consequence of the peace which they enjoyed, they relegated arms to a secondary place and gave their whole attention to religion. I am not speaking of the poor, the meanness of whose fortune often restrains them from overstepping the bounds of justice; I omit, too, men of ecclesiastical rank, whom sometimes respect for their profession and sometimes the fear of shame suffers not to deviate from the true path; I speak of princes, who from the greatness of their power might have full liberty to indulge in pleasure. Some of these in their own country, and others at Rome, changing their habit, obtained a heavenly kingdom and a saintly intercourse. Many others during their whole lives devoted themselves in outward appearance to worldly affairs, but in order that they might exhaust their treasures on the poor or divide them amongst monasteries.

What shall I say of the multitudes of bishops, hermits, and abbots? Does not the whole island blaze with such numerous relics of its own people that you can scarcely pass a village of any consequence but you hear the name of some new saint? And of how many more has all remembrance perished through the want of records?

General intellectual and religious decline before the Norman Conquest.

Nevertheless, the attention to literature and religion had gradually decreased for several years before the arrival of the Normans. The clergy, contented with a little confused learning, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments; and a person who understood grammar was an object of wonder and astonishment. The monks mocked the rule of their order by fine vestments and the use of every kind of food. The nobility, given up to luxury and wantonness, went not to church in the morning after the manner of Christians, but merely, in a careless manner, heard matins and masses from a hurrying priest in their chambers, amid the blandishments of their wives. The commonalty, left unprotected, became a prey to the most powerful, who amassed fortunes, either by seizing on their property

or by selling their persons into foreign countries; although it is characteristic of this people to be more inclined to reveling than to the accumulation of wealth. . . .

Manners and customs of the English.

Drinking in parties was an universal practice, in which occupation they passed entire nights as well as days. They consumed their whole substance in mean and despicable houses, unlike the Normans and French, who live frugally in noble and splendid mansions. The vices attendant on drunkenness, which enervate the human mind, followed; hence it came about that when they engaged William, with more rashness and precipitate fury than military skill, they doomed themselves and their country to slavery by a single, and that an easy, victory. For nothing is less effective than rashness; and what begins with violence quickly ceases or is repelled.

The English at that time wore short garments, reaching to the mid-knee; they had their hair cropped, their beards shaven, their arms laden with golden bracelets, their skin adorned with tattooed designs. They were accustomed to eat till they became surfeited, and to drink till they were sick. These latter qualities they imparted to their conquerors; as to the rest, they adopted their manners. I would not, however, have these bad propensities ascribed to the English universally; I know that many of the clergy at that day trod the path of sanctity by a blameless life; I know that many of the laity, of all ranks and conditions, in this nation were well-pleasing to God. Be injustice far from this account; the accusation does not involve the whole, indiscriminately; but as in peace the mercy of God often cherishes the bad and the good together, so, equally, does his severity sometimes include them both in captivity.

Character of the Normans.

The Normans — that I may speak of them also — were at that time, and are even now, exceedingly particular in their dress and delicate in their food, but not so to excess. They are a race inured to war, and can hardly live without it; fierce in rushing against the enemy, and, where force fails of success, ready to use stratagem or to corrupt by bribery. As I have said, they live in spacious houses with

economy, envy their superiors, wish to excel their equals, and plunder their subjects, though they defend them from others; they are faithful to their lords, though a slight offense alienates them. They weigh treachery by its chance of success, and change their sentiments for money. The most hospitable, however, of all nations, they esteem strangers worthy of equal honor with themselves; they also intermarry with their vassals. They revived, by their arrival, the rule of religion which had everywhere grown lifeless in England. You might see churches rise in every village, and monasteries in the towns and cities, built after a style unknown before; you might behold the country flourishing with renovated rites; so that each wealthy man accounted that day lost to him which he had neglected to signalize by some munificent action.

III. Rule of William the Conqueror

98. King William orders Doomsday Book to be drawn up. (From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*)

At Midwinter the king was at Gloucester with his "witan," and there held his court five days; and afterwards the archbishop and clergy had a synod three days. There was Maurice chosen bishop of London, and William, of Norfolk, and Robert, of Cheshire. They were all the king's clerks. After this the king had a great council, and very deep speech with his "witan" about this land, how it was peopled, or by what men; then he sent his men over all England, into every shire, and caused to be ascertained how many hundred hides were in the shire, or what land the king himself had, and cattle within the land, or what dues he ought to have, in twelve months, from the shire. Also he caused to be written how much land his archbishops had, and his suffragan bishops, and his abbots, and his earls; and — though I may narrate somewhat prolixly — what or how much each man had who was a landholder in England, in land, or in cattle, and how much money it might be worth. So very narrowly he caused it to be traced out, that there was not one single hide, nor one yard of land, nor even — it is shame to tell, though it seemed to him no shame to do —

an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine, left that was not set down in his writ.

William's character.

King William, about whom we speak, was a very wise man, and very powerful, more dignified and strong than any of his predecessors were. He was mild to the good men who loved God, and beyond all measure severe to the men who gainsaid his will. . . . He was also very dignified; thrice every year he wore his crown, as oft as he was in England. At Easter he wore it in Winchester; at Pentecost, in Westminster; at Midwinter, in Gloucester. And then were with him all the great men over all England, archbishops and suffragan bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights.

So also was he a very rigid and cruel man, so that no one durst do anything against his will. He had earls in bonds who had acted against his will; bishops he cast from their bishoprics, and abbots from their abbacies, and thanes into prison; and at last he spared not his own brother, named Odo: he was a very rich bishop in Normandy; at Bayeux was his episcopal see; and he was the foremost man besides the king; and he had an earldom in England, and when the king was in Normandy, then was he the most powerful in this land: and him the king put in prison.

Among other good things is not to be forgotten the good peace that he made in this land; so that a man who had any confidence in himself might go over his realm, with his bosom full of gold, unhurt. Nor durst any man slay another man had he done ever so great evil to the other. He reigned over England, and by his sagacity so thoroughly surveyed it that there was not a hide of land within England that he knew not who had it, or what it was worth, and afterwards set it in his writ.

Brytland (Wales) was in his power, and therein he built castles, and completely ruled over that race of men. In like manner he also subjected Scotland to him by his great strength. The land of Normandy was naturally his, and over the country which is called Le Maine he reigned; and if he might yet have lived two years he would, by his valor, have won Ireland, and without any weapons.

Certainly in his time men had great hardship and very many injuries. Castles he caused to be made, and poor men to be greatly oppressed. The king was very rigid, and took from his subjects many a mark of gold, and more hundred pounds of silver, all which he took, by right and with great unright, from his people, for little need. He had fallen into covetousness, and altogether loved greediness.

He planted a great preserve for deer, and he laid down laws therewith, that whosoever should slay hart or hind should be blinded. He forbade the harts and also the boars to be killed. As greatly did he love the tall deer as if he were their father. He also ordained concerning the hares that they should go free. His great men bewailed it, and the poor men murmured thereat; but he was so obdurate that he recked not of the hatred of them all; but they must wholly follow the king's will if they would live, or have land, or property, or even his peace. Alas that any man should be so proud, so raise himself up, and account himself above all men! May the Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins!

IV. How the Great Charter was Won

In the year of our Lord 1215, which was the seventeenth year of the reign of King John, he held his court at Winchester at Christmas for one day, after which he hurried to London, and took up his abode at the New Temple; and at that place the above-mentioned nobles came to him in gay military array, and demanded the confirmation of the liberties and laws of King Edward [the Confessor], with such other liberties granted to them and to the kingdom and church of England as were contained in the charter and the above-mentioned laws of Henry the First. They also asserted that at the time of his absolution at Winchester he had promised to restore those laws and ancient liberties, and was bound by his own oath to observe them. The king, hearing the bold tone of the barons in making this demand, much feared

99. The barons demand that King John should confirm their ancient rights. (From the *Chronicle of Roger of Wendover.*)

an attack from them, as he saw that they were prepared for battle; he however made answer that their demands were a matter of importance and difficulty, and he therefore asked a truce till the end of Easter, that he might, after due deliberation, be able to satisfy them as well as the dignity of his crown. . . .

In Easter week of this same year the above-mentioned nobles assembled at Stamford with horses and arms, since they had now induced almost all the nobility of the whole kingdom to join them and constituted a very large army. There were computed to be two thousand knights, besides horse soldiers, attendants, and foot soldiers, who were variously equipped. . . . All of these were united by oath, and were supported by the concurrence of Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, who was at their head. The king at this time was awaiting the arrival of his nobles at Oxford.

On the Monday next after the octaves of Easter the said barons assembled in the town of Brackley; and when the king learned of them, he sent the archbishop of Canterbury and William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, with some other prudent men, to them, to inquire what the laws and liberties were which they demanded. The barons then delivered to the messengers a paper, containing in great measure the laws and ancient customs of the kingdom, and declared that unless the king immediately granted them and confirmed them under his own seal they would, by taking possession of his fortresses, force him to give them sufficient satisfaction as to their before-named demands.

The archbishop with his fellow-messengers then carried the paper to the king and read to him all the heads of the paper, one by one. The king, when he heard the purport of these heads, derisively said, with the greatest indignation, "Why, amongst all these unjust demands, did not the barons ask for my kingdom also? Their demands are vain and visionary, and are unsupported by any plea of reason whatever." And at length he angrily declared, with an oath, that he would never grant them such liberties as would render him their slave. . . .

King John, when he saw that he was deserted by almost all, so that out of his regal superabundance of followers he scarcely retained seven knights, was much alarmed lest the barons should attack his castles and reduce them without difficulty, as they would find no obstacle to their so doing. So he deceitfully pretended to make peace for a time with the aforesaid barons, and sent William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, with other trustworthy messengers, to them, and told them that, for the sake of peace and for the exaltation and honor of the kingdom, he would willingly grant them the laws and liberties they required ; he also sent word to the barons by these same messengers, to appoint a fitting day and place to meet and carry all these matters into effect.

The king's messengers then came in all haste to London, and without deceit did report to the barons all that had been deceitfully imposed on them ; they, in their great joy, appointed the 15th of June for the king to meet them at a field lying between Staines and Windsor. Accordingly, at the time and place pre-agreed upon, the king and nobles came to the appointed conference, and when each party had stationed themselves apart from the other, they began a long discussion about terms of peace and the aforesaid liberties. . . . At length, after various points on both sides had been discussed, King John, seeing that he was inferior in strength to the barons, without raising any difficulty, granted the underwritten laws and liberties and confirmed them by his charter as follows :

V. Principal Provisions of the Great Charter

100. Principal provisions of Magna Charta.

John, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Count of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciars, foresters, sheriffs, reeves, servants, and all bailiffs and to his faithful people, greeting :

Know that by the suggestion of God and for the good of our soul and of those of all our predecessors and of our heirs, to the honor of God and the exaltation of holy Church, and

for the improvement of our kingdom, by the advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and cardinal of the holy Roman Church, Henry, archbishop of Dublin, William of London, Peter of Winchester, Jocelyn of Bath and Glastonbury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worcester, William of Coventry, and Benedict of Rochester, bishops; of Master Pandulf, subdeacon and member of the household of the lord pope, of Brother Aymeric, master of the Knights of the Temple in England; and of the noblemen William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, William, earl of Salisbury, William, earl of Warren, William, earl of Arundel, Alan of Galloway, constable of Scotland, Warren Fitz-Gerald, Peter Fitz-Herbert, Hubert de Burgh, steward of Poitou, Hugh de Nevil, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas Bassett, Alan Bassett, Philip d'Albini, Robert de Roppelay, John Marshall, John Fitz-Hugh, and others of our faithful.

1. In the first place, we have granted to God, and by this our present charter confirmed for us and our heirs forever, that the English church shall be free, and shall hold its rights entire and its liberties uninjured; and that we will that it should thus be observed is shown by this: that the freedom of elections, which is considered to be most important and especially necessary to the English church, we, of our pure and spontaneous will, granted, and by our charter confirmed, before the contest between us and our barons had arisen; and we obtained a confirmation of it by the lord pope Innocent III, which we will observe, and which we will shall be observed in good faith by our heirs forever.

We have granted, moreover, to all free men of our kingdom, for us and our heirs forever, all the liberties written below, to be had and holden by themselves and their heirs from us and our heirs.

Feudal dues carefully restricted.

2. If any of our earls or barons, or others holding from us in chief by military service, shall have died, and when he has died his heir shall be of full age and owe relief, he shall have his inheritance by the ancient relief; that is to say, the heir or heirs of an earl, for the whole barony of an earl,

a hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a baron, for a whole barony, a hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, a hundred shillings at most; and who owes less, let him give less, according to the ancient custom of fiefs. . . .

5. The custodian [of the lands of a minor], moreover, so long as he shall have the custody of the land, must keep up the houses, parks, warrens, fish ponds, mills, and other things pertaining to the land, from the proceeds of the land itself; and he must return to the heir, when he has come to full age, all his land, furnished with plows and implements of husbandry, according as the time of wainage requires and as the proceeds of the land are able reasonably to sustain. . . .

7. A widow, after the death of her husband, shall have her marriage portion and her inheritance immediately and without obstruction. . . .

8. No widow shall be compelled to marry so long as she prefers to live without a husband, provided she gives security that she will not marry without our consent, if she holds from us, or without the consent of her lord from whom she holds, if she holds from another. . . .

12. No scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom save by the common council of our kingdom, except for the ransoming of our body, for the making of our oldest son a knight, and for once marrying our oldest daughter; and for these purposes it shall be only a reasonable aid; in the same way it shall be done concerning the aids of the city of London.

Except in specified cases, no tax to be imposed without the consent of the common council.

13. And the city of London shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water. Moreover we will and grant that all other cities and boroughs and villages and ports shall have all their liberties and free customs.

14. And for holding a common council of the kingdom concerning the assessment of an aid otherwise than in the three cases mentioned above, or concerning the assessment of a scutage, we shall cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons by our letters

under seal; and, besides, we shall cause to be summoned generally, by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all those who hold from us in chief, for a certain day, at the end of at least forty days, and for a certain place; and in all the letters of that summons we will state the cause of the summons, and when the summons has thus been given the business shall proceed on the appointed day, on the advice of those who shall be present, even if not all of those who were summoned have come.

15. We will not grant to any one, moreover, that he shall take an aid from his free men, except for ransoming his body, for making his oldest son a knight, and for once marrying his oldest daughter; and for these purposes only a reasonable aid shall be taken. . . .

20. A free man shall not be fined for a small offense, except in proportion to the gravity of the offense; and for a great offense he shall be fined in proportion to the magnitude of the offense, saving his freehold; and a merchant in the same way, saving his merchandise; and the villein shall be fined in the same way, saving his wainage, if he shall be at our mercy; and none of the above fines shall be imposed except by the oaths of honest men of the neighborhood. . . .

Restrictions placed upon the king's officers.

28. No constable or other bailiff of ours shall take any one's grain or other chattels without immediately paying for them in money, unless he is able to obtain a postponement at the good will of the seller.

29. No constable shall require any knight to give money in place of his ward of a castle if he is willing to furnish that ward in his own person, or through another honest man if he himself is not able to do it for a reasonable cause; and if we shall lead or send him into the army he shall be free from ward in proportion to the amount of time which he has been in the army through us.

30. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or any one else, shall take horses or wagons of any free man, for carrying purposes, except on the permission of that free man.

31. Neither we nor our bailiffs will take the wood of another man for castles, or for anything else which we are

doing, except by the permission of him to whom the wood belongs. . . .

No arbitrary imprisonment.

39. No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way injured, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

40. To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay, right or justice.

Protection of merchants.

41. All merchants shall be safe and secure in going out from England and coming into England, and in remaining and going through England, as well by land as by water, for buying and selling, free from all evil tolls, by the ancient and rightful customs, except in time of war, or if they are of a land at war with us; and if such are found in our land at the beginning of war, they shall be attached without injury to their bodies or goods, until it shall be known from us, or from our principal justiciar, in what way the merchants of our land are treated who shall be then found in the country which is at war with us; and if ours are safe there, the others shall be safe in our land. . . .

47. All forests which have been afforested in our time shall be disafforested immediately; and so it shall be concerning river banks which in our time have been fenced in. . . .

51. And immediately after the reëstablishment of peace we will remove from the kingdom all foreign-born soldiers, crossbowmen, servants, and mercenaries who have come with horses and arms for the injury of the realm.

52. If any one shall have been dispossessed or removed by us, without legal judgment of his peers, from his lands, castles, franchises, or his right, we will restore them to him immediately; and if contention arises about this, then it shall be done according to the judgment of the twenty-five barons, of whom mention is made below concerning the security of the peace. Concerning all those things, however, from which any one has been removed, or of which he has been deprived, without legal judgment of his peers, by King Henry our father, or by King Richard our brother, which we have in our hand, or which others hold, and which

it is our duty to guarantee, we shall have respite till the usual term of crusaders; excepting those things about which the suit has been begun or the inquisition made by our writ before our assumption of the cross. When, however, we shall return from our journey, or if by chance we desist from the journey, we will immediately show full justice in regard to them. . . .

61. Since, moreover, for the sake of God, and for the improvement of our kingdom, and for the better quieting of the hostility sprung up lately between us and our barons, we have made all these concessions; wishing them to enjoy these in a complete and firm stability forever, we make and concede to them the security described below; that is to say, that they shall elect twenty-five barons of the kingdom, whomsoever they will, who ought with all their power to observe, hold, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties which we have conceded to them, and by this our present charter confirmed to them; . . .

63. . . . It has been sworn, moreover, as well on our part as on the part of the barons, that all these things spoken of above shall be observed in good faith and without any evil intent. Witness the above-named and many others. Given by our hand in the meadow which is called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, on the fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

VI. Writs of Summons to the Model Parliament (1295)

Summons to a Bishop

By the following writs of summons Edward I secured a perfect representation of the three estates in an assembly which should have the power of taxing the whole nation for the war with France; in short, a parliament was constituted "on the model of which every succeeding assembly bearing that name was formed" (Stubbs).

101. Summons of a bishop to Parliament (1295).

The King to the venerable father in Christ, Robert, by the same grace Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, greeting:

As a most just law, established by the careful providence of sacred princes, exhorts and decrees that what affects all by all should be approved, so also, very evidently, should common danger be met by means provided in common. You know sufficiently well, and it is now, as we believe, divulged through all regions of the world, how the king of France fraudulently and craftily deprives us of our land of Gascony by withholding it unjustly from us.

Now, however, not satisfied with the before-mentioned fraud and injustice, having gathered together for the conquest of our kingdom a very great fleet and an abounding multitude of warriors, with which he has made a hostile attack on our kingdom and the inhabitants of the same kingdom, he now proposes to destroy the English language altogether from the earth, if his power should correspond to the detestable proposition of the contemplated injustice, which God forbid.

Because, therefore, darts seen beforehand do less injury, and your interest especially, as that of the rest of the citizens of the same realm, is concerned in this affair, we command you, strictly enjoining you in the fidelity and love in which you are bound to us, that on the Lord's day next after the feast of St. Martin, in the approaching winter, you be present in person at Westminster; citing beforehand the dean and chapter of your church, the archdeacons and all the clergy of your diocese, causing the same dean and archdeacons in their own persons, and the said chapter by one suitable proctor, and the said clergy by two, to be present along with you, having full and sufficient power from the same chapter and clergy, to consider, ordain, and provide, along with us and with the rest of the prelates and principal men and other inhabitants of our kingdom, how the dangers and threatened evils of this kind are to be met.

Witness the king, at Wangham, the 30th of September.[1]

[1] The other bishops and abbots received identical or similar summonses.

Summons to a Baron

Summons of a baron to Parliament (1295).

The King to his beloved and faithful relative, Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, greeting:

Because we wish to have a consultation and meeting with you and with the rest of the principal men of our kingdom, as to provision for remedies against the dangers which in these days are threatening our whole kingdom, we command you, strictly enjoining you in the fidelity and love in which you are bound to us, that on the Lord's day next after the feast of St. Martin, in the approaching winter, you be present in person at Westminster, for considering, ordaining, and doing, along with us and with the prelates and the rest of the principal men and other inhabitants of our kingdom, as may be necessary for meeting dangers of this kind.

Witness the king, at Canterbury, the 1st of October.[1]

Summons to the Representatives of the Shires and Towns

Summons of representatives of shires and towns to Parliament (1295).

The King to the Sheriff of Northamptonshire:

Since we intend to have a consultation and meeting with the earls, barons, and other principal men of our kingdom with regard to providing remedies against the dangers which are in these days threatening the same kingdom, and on that account have commanded them to be with us on the Lord's day next after the feast of St. Martin, in the approaching winter, at Westminster, to consider, ordain, and do as may be necessary for the avoidance of those dangers, we strictly require you to cause two knights from the aforesaid county, two citizens from each city in the same county, and two burgesses from each borough, of those who are especially discreet and capable of laboring, to be elected without delay, and to cause them to come to us at the aforesaid time and place.

Moreover, the said knights are to have full and sufficient power for themselves and for the community of the aforesaid

[1] Similar summonses were sent to seven earls and forty-one barons.

county, and the said citizens and burgesses for themselves, and the communities of the aforesaid cities and boroughs separately, then and there, for doing what shall then be ordained according to the common council in the premises; so that the aforesaid business shall not remain unfinished in any way for defect of this power. And you shall have there the names of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, together with this writ.

Witness the king, at Canterbury, on the 3d of October.[1]

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[1] Identical summonses were sent to the sheriffs of each county.

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GILDAS, a monk of Britain (*ca.* 516–573), who lived two centuries before Bede, has left a melancholy account of the calamities of his time, — *Liber querulus de calamitate, excidio et conquestu Britanniae, quam Angliam nunc vocant.* (Edited by Mommsen in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and in *Six English Chronicles* in the Bohn Library.)

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The monks of St. Albans were distinguished, like the monks of St. Denis (see above, p. 221), for their historical writings in the thirteenth century. Among these historians two may be mentioned: ROGER OF WENDOVER, whose chronicle, *The Flowers of History,* reviews the history of the world, but is especially valuable for the quarter of a century of his own time (it closes with the year 1235).

The more famous MATTHEW OF PARIS — an ardent Englishman in spite of his name — in his so-called *Greater Chronicle,* after the customary review of the world's history, carried the work of Roger of Wendover down to the year 1259. His history Cardinal Baronius declared to be "a golden book, only marred by hostility to the Holy See." It is probably the most generally useful historical production of the thirteenth century. The writings of both these monks of St. Albans are in the Rolls Series and in the Bohn Library. Another so-called *Flowers of History* is a compilation reaching the year 1307, long attributed without any particular reason to an apparently imaginary MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER and commonly cited under his name. (In the Rolls Series and in the Bohn Library.)

CHAPTER XII

GERMANY AND ITALY IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

I. The Times of Henry I and Otto the Great

102. Germany in the early tenth century. (From the continuation of Regino's *Chronicle*.)

The following account of the events in Germany in the first half of the tenth century was prepared by a monk at Treves in 960–961. He made use, for the earlier part of his narrative, of certain meager annals, some of which have come down to us. The sources all agree in giving a gloomy account of invasion, pillage, and civil war, which even wise and energetic German kings were unable to prevent.

In the year 907[1] of the Incarnation the Bavarians were defeated with great bloodshed by the Hungarians. Duke Luitbald was killed in this battle, and his son Arnulf succeeded him in the duchy.

In the year 908 of the Incarnation the Hungarians again crossed the borders and devastated Saxony and Thuringia.

In the year 909 of the Incarnation the Hungarians forced their way into Alemannia.

In the year 910 of the Incarnation the Franconians fought on the frontier of Franconia and Bavaria with the Hungarians and were miserably defeated or put to flight. Count Gebhard lost his life in the battle and left behind him two sons, still boys, Udo and Hermann, who were later to become distinguished in Franconia.

[1] Regino's *Chronicle* (see above, p. 169), of which the present work is a continuation, closes with the year 906.

Death of Louis the Child, who was followed by Conrad.

In the year 911 of the Incarnation King Louis, the son of Emperor Arnulf, died, and since the royal line was now extinct, he was succeeded by Conrad, son of that Conrad who had been killed by Adalbert.

In the year 912 of the Incarnation the Hungarians again devastated without opposition Franconia and Thuringia. Archbishop Hatto [of Mayence], a very keen and able man, died, and Heriger succeeded him. Otto, duke of Saxony, died.

In the year 913 of the Incarnation there was a very severe winter. The Hungarians wasted the fields of the Alemannians and were defeated by the Bavarians and Alemannians at the river Inn. In the same year Einhard, bishop of Speyer, was blinded by Counts Bernhard and Conrad.

In the year 914 of the Incarnation Otbert, bishop of Strasburg, was killed. Bishop Salomon [of Constance] was taken prisoner.[1]

In the year 915 of the Incarnation the Hungarians wasted all Alemannia with fire and sword; they harried all Thuringia and Saxony and came as far as the abbey of Fulda.

In the year 917 of the Incarnation the Hungarians came through Alemannia into Alsace and to the borders of Lorraine. Erchanger and Berthold were beheaded. Arnulf, duke of Bavaria, revolted against the king.

In the year 918 of the Incarnation King Conrad celebrated the birth of St. John in the cloister of Hersfeld.

Death of Conrad, who nominates Henry I as his successor.

In the year 919 of the Incarnation King Conrad died. He was in all respects a man of insight, gentle, and a friend of divine learning. As he perceived that the day of his death was near, he summoned his brethren and relatives, namely the great among the Franconians. He said to them that his

[1] By Erchanger, duke of Alemannia, as we learn from the annals of the monastery of St. Gall. His execution is mentioned below.

end was near, and exhorted them as a father that there should be no discord in the realm over the choice of a king to follow him. He commanded them to choose Henry, duke of Saxony, a man of energy and a strong friend of peace. Moreover since he, Conrad, had been unable to find any other person so well fitted for the position, he sent to Henry the scepter and crown and other decorations associated with the kingly dignity, on condition that he should shield and protect the realm. He himself passed from this life and was honorably buried in the monastery of Fulda. He was worn out during the few years of his reign by the Bavarians and Alemannians and Saxons, for they rose against him in many a battle; but with God's help before his death he got the better of them.

In the year 920 of the Incarnation Duke Henry was chosen king by agreement of the Franconians, Alemannians, Bavarians, Thuringians, and Saxons.[1] He began his reign by strictly enforcing the peace; for many, even among the nobles, had turned their attention in those days to robbery.[2] . . .

In the year 928 of the Incarnation Henry made a hostile expedition into the land of the Bohemians, and won the victory over them with God's aid. At this time a son, William, was born to Otto, the king's son. The winter was uncommonly cold. Ruodger, archbishop of Treves, died. Ruodbert succeeded him.

In the year 929 of the Incarnation Duke Gisalbert took to wife Gerburga, the daughter of King Henry.

In the year 930 of the Incarnation Otto, the son of King Henry, took to wife Edith, the daughter of the king of the Angles.

[1] The fact that the peoples of the several duchies were viewed as subnations is clear in this and other references to them.

[2] In his account of the years here omitted, our chronicler tells of Hungarian raids, and of trouble between King Charles of France and Henry I over Lorraine, and of its ultimate cession to Henry.

In the year 931 of the Incarnation King Henry induced the king of the Abotrites and the king of the Danes to become Christians. In the same year the king was invited to Franconia by Eberhard and others, — Franconian counts and bishops, — and was honored by each of them, in his house or in his see, with banquets and gifts as befitted a king.

In the year 932 of the Incarnation the Hungarians destroyed many towns in eastern Franconia and Alemannia with fire and sword. They then crossed the Rhine near Worms, wasted Gaul as far as the sea, and then returned by way of Italy.

In the year 934 of the Incarnation King Henry overcame the Hungarians in a great battle and took many of them prisoners. In the same year he attacked the Slavs, who are called Bucranes, conquered them, and made them tributary. The church of St. Maximin was blown down in a storm. Through the king's favor the right of election was given back to the monks; Hugo, who had been prior, was chosen abbot, and the monks who did not live according to the rule were driven out.[1]

In the year 935 of the Incarnation King Henry suffered from a stroke.

In the year 936 of the Incarnation a number of bishops of Thuringia held a synod at Erfurt. King Henry, who had diligently promoted peace and steadily pursued the heathen, reached his life's end on the 2d of July, after he had won many a brave victory and pushed out the bounds of his realm in every direction. His son Otto was chosen his successor by a unanimous vote of all the great of the realm.

The annals of the reign of Henry I are fragmentary and gloomy, but we have much fuller accounts of Otto's difficulties and his manner of surmounting them. Among the historians of his time Widukind, a monk of Corvei, holds a high place.

[1] These statements relate to the writer's own monastery at Treves.

103. Election of Otto the Great (936). (From Widukind's *Deeds of the Saxons.*)

When Henry [I], the father of his country and the greatest and best of kings, was dead, all the people of the Franks and Saxons chose as their chief Otto, his son, whom his father had wished to have them choose. They decided to hold the general election at the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle. . . . When they were come thither the dukes and chief counts and soldiers came together in the portico of the basilica of the great Charles, and put the new king on a throne built there, and gave him their hands, promising to be faithful to him, and pledging him their aid against their enemies. So they made him king after their custom.

While these things were done by the dukes and the other magistrates, the chief pontiff [of Germany, i.e. the bishop of Mayence], with all the priests and the people, awaited below in the basilica the coming of the new king. When he came toward them the pontiff met him and touched the king's right hand. Now the bishop was clad in linen and was adorned with a stole and pallium and bore a staff in his right hand; and he went forward among the people and stood at the altar. He then turned toward the people who stood around that all might see him. "Behold," he said, "I present to you Otto, chosen by God, and previously designated by Henry, lord of this realm, and now made king by all the princes. If this choice is pleasing to you, signify it by raising your right hands toward heaven." And all the people raised their right hands on high, and with a mighty voice prayed for the prosperity of their new ruler.

Then the king, clad according to the Frankish custom in a close tunic, marched with the bishop behind an altar on which lay the royal regalia, — the sword with the belt, the mantle and bracelets, the staff with the scepter and diadem. . . . Then Hildebert, bishop of Mayence, came forward to the altar, took the sword and belt, and turning to the king said: "Take this sword, that thou mayst cast out all the adversaries of Christ, all barbarians and false Christians, by the divine authority given to thee, by all the power of the whole empire of the Franks, to the lasting peace of Christendom."

Then he took the mantle and bracelets and put them upon him: "As the border of this mantle flows to the ground, be thou admonished that thou shouldst glow with the zeal of faith and that thou shouldst endure to the end to maintain peace." Then he took the scepter and staff: "By these tokens be thou admonished that thou shouldst reprove thy subjects with fatherly chastisement and that thou shouldst above all things extend the hand of mercy to the ministers of God and to widows and orphans. And may thy head never lack the oil of compassion, that thou mayst be crowned now and hereafter with an eternal reward."

And he was anointed with the holy oil and crowned by the pontiffs, Hildebert and Wicfried [archbishop of Cologne], with a golden crown. When the consecration was accomplished according to the law, the king was led by those same bishops to the throne, which was built between two marble columns and was reached by a winding stairway, whence he could see all and be seen by all.

When the divine praise had been sung and the mass solemnly celebrated, the king descended to the palace. There he drew near a marble table adorned with royal pomp, and seated himself with the bishops and all the people; and the dukes ministered to him.

II. Rome and the Papacy in the Time of Otto the Great

104. Degradation of the papacy in the tenth century. (From the *Chronicle of Benedict of St. Andrea*, condensed.)

We get an idea of the papacy in the middle of the tenth century from the chronicle of a monk living in the monastery of St. Andrea at the foot of Mt. Soracte, not far from Rome. He was near the scenes of the events he describes and wrote, according to Wattenbach, about 968, when Otto's Italian expeditions were fresh in his mind. But he was ignorant; his Latin is incredibly bad; he seems scarcely to know the difference between France and Germany, and makes many obvious historical

blunders. Yet there is good reason to assume that he gives us a tolerably correct general impression of the situation in Italy and Rome as Otto found it.

Marozia, mentioned below, belonged to a powerful Roman family, and, through her energy and ambition, had become the leader of the so-called senatorial party in Rome. Alberic, her son by her first husband, succeeded, as will appear in the selections given below, to her power; he ruled Rome, and quietly controlled the popes for more than a score of years until his death in 954. He was in turn followed by his son Octavian, who as a boy of sixteen sought to combine the position which his father had held with the papal office. Finally he decided to call in Otto the Great to help him out of his difficulties.[1]

Marozia has her son John made pope.

The pope having died, the lady senatress Marozia [in 931] ordained her son John to the most sacred seat; wherefore he is called John XI. Rome was ruled by the power of a woman's hand; as we read in the words of the prophets, "Women shall rule Jerusalem."

The Hungarians driven out of Italy by the Lombards.

Again the Hungarians came to Rome, and appeared before the gate of St. John, and the Romans went forth and fought with the people of the Hungarians. And the Hungarians cut down the Roman nobles so that they lay unburied by the very doors of the church. Then the Hungarians came to the city of Reatina, and Joseph, the wise Lombard, went forth from the gates with a great army of the Lombards. He put some of the Hungarians to the sword and took many alive. Then the Hungarians saw that the strength of their people was growing less in every way. They returned to their own country, and came no more to Italy for pillage. . . .

[1] An excellent brief account of the tangled history of Italy during the period in question will be found in Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, pp. 115–128 and 135–144. Corrections of Benedict's inaccuracies are given in Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, Vol. IV, pp. 276 *sqq*.

Marozia, mother of Alberic, prince of the Romans, sent legates to a certain Hugo, king of the Lombards,[1] asking that he unite himself with her in marriage. And this was done [932]. But after the marriage had been solemnized in the Castle of St. Angelo and the king had retired with the queen, the king had evil thoughts, — that he would tear out the eyes of his stepson Alberic, and so bring the Roman kingdom under his own power.

Alberic frustrates the schemes of King Hugo and makes himself master of Rome and the papacy.

Alberic the prince learned of this plot, and he made a covenant with the Romans. The trumpets in the churches sounded with fearful clamor, the people rushed to arms, and the earth echoed with outcries. The hearts of the king and the queen quaked with fear, and the king returned to Lombardy. The face of Alberic, prince of the Romans, shone like his father's, and he grew in strength and power. Indeed, he was too terrible, and his yoke grew heavy upon the Romans and upon the holy apostolic see. The pope dared not to do anything without the commands of Prince Alberic.[2] And in his time no hostile force entered Italy from the land of the Lombards or from across the Alps.

Alberic had a son, to whom he gave the name Octavian. The Romans, according to their evil habit, took counsel how they might kill Prince Alberic, and Alberic became aware of this plan. Marinus the bishop and Benedict the bishop, with many others, worked secretly from that time to bring Prince Alberic to death. But their evil plans came to naught. The glorious prince had sisters of senatorial rank, who plotted secretly among themselves the death of their brother. Then one of them abandoned the plot and, feigning to be grieved, in the goodness of her heart hinted to her brother how she had chanced upon the knowledge of a plot against him. When Alberic heard her story the bishops we named were seized. Some of the conspirators were made executioners of others, some were scourged, some thrust into prison, some

[1] See below, p. 255.

[2] Alberic kept his half-brother, John XI, who died in 936, in honorable confinement and appears to have held the four succeeding popes in complete subordination.

put to the sword. Thus was the prince delivered from the treason of the Romans. . . .

There was at this time [946–955] in the holy apostolic see a pope named Agapetus. Not long after the plot of which we have told, the illustrious prince [Alberic] began to sicken. He came straightway to the church of the chief of the apostles, and sent messengers to all the Roman nobles, and made them come to him. They all promised faithfully upon oath that after the death of Pope Agapetus they would elect Octavian pope. Having arranged for his daughter's welfare and for his son Octavian, and having confessed to St. Peter the apostle, Prince Alberic ended his life.

Death of Alberic (954).

And not long afterward Pope Agapetus died. Octavian was elected to the holy see and was called John XII. He led a life so licentious and so openly wicked that he might have been a heathen. He hunted constantly, not as a pope but like a wild man. He was given over to vain desires and surrounded himself with a crowd of evil women. So great was his iniquity that it cannot be told.

Octavian, Alberic's son, becomes John XII (955). His evil life.

Now there were in the city of Rome a deacon of the holy Roman church named John, and Azzo, a papal scribe, who hated the pontiff. Because his life was so evil, we consulted how we might call the Saxon kings into Italy to possess the Roman power. John and Azzo were sturdy men, and they were of one heart and one mind,—that it were better to do the pontiff to death than to let him live, and that the Roman power should be bestowed upon the Saxon king, to the end that he might rule justly as the protector of holy Church. They sent legates to Otto, the first Saxon king, asking him to come and possess Italy and the Roman power.

The pope heard of this plot. He seized John the deacon and Azzo the scribe. He ordered the hand to be cut off with which Azzo had written the letter to Otto, and had John the deacon's nose cut off.[1] . . .

[1] It would appear, however, from other sources that it was really John himself who called Otto into Italy. Even Benedict says just below that the pope received the Saxon king honorably.

Otto the king came into Italy [961] with a great multitude of people that well-nigh filled the face of the earth like locusts. He had with him many nations whose tongues the people did not know. The Roman people met him, together with the pontiff, and received him honorably. Masses were celebrated in the church of the chief of the apostles. Otto was extolled with high praises, and was called "August." In this wise was the Italian kingdom, or the Roman power, made subject to the Saxon king.

Coronation of Otto the Great as emperor.

The king and the queen, whose name was Adelaide, were crowned in the church of the chief of the apostles; and they gave many gifts throughout the holy Roman church. Then much trouble came upon the Italian kingdom, for it was devastated by pestilence, famine, fire, and sword. The cattle perished, the land became a wilderness, and the famine ever increased.

Otto sets up an antipope, Leo.

A great conflict arose between the emperor and the pope, — how, we do not say. John withdrew into Campania, leaving the apostolic see for fear of the emperor. The Romans were in great confusion, and they begged the emperor that he would elect a certain Leo pope. This seemed good to the emperor, and Leo was elected and enthroned in the most holy see. . . .

The Romans, as was their ancient habit, were divided among themselves; and John the pope was recalled from Campania, and entered Rome with a strong army. Leo took flight and withdrew to a distance. They say he went across the Alps. Not long afterward the emperor returned with the pope and a great army into Italy. John the pope heard of the king's furious onslaughts: he left Rome and fled to Campania. [Soon after, he died.] The Romans elected Benedict, the subdeacon, pope, a prudent man well versed in grammar.

The emperor heard of this schism and grew very angry. He swore by his royal power that he would besiege the city of Rome on all sides unless Benedict would give way to the rightful pope [Leo]. Rome was surrounded by the people of the Lombards, the Saxons, and the Gauls, in a

great circle, so that none dared to go beyond the walls. Fire and sword caused great famine in Rome, and the hearts of the people quailed within them because their strength was brought to naught. There was but one voice among them from the least to the greatest. Forced by dire need, they took Benedict the pope and gave him into the hands of the emperor, and said to one another: "It is better for one alone to die for all, that we may save all other lives from destruction by hunger." The emperor sent the pontiff into exile in Saxony, and Leo returned to the most sacred seat, amid the praises of the Roman people. . . .

Woe unto thee, Rome, oppressed and trodden under foot by so many nations! Thou art taken captive by the Saxon king, thy people are put to the sword, thy strength is brought to naught. Thy gold and thy silver are carried away in their purses. The mother thou wast — a daughter thou hast become. What thou hadst, thou hast lost. Thou art despoiled of thy former strength. . . .

Formerly, glorying in thy power, thou hast triumphed over nations, hast cast the world into the dust, hast strangled the kings of the earth. Thou hast grasped the scepter and wielded great power. Now art thou plundered and utterly despoiled by the Saxon king. As some wise men say, and as it will be found written in thy histories, thou didst once fight with foreign nations and conquer them from north to south. Now the people of Gaul have encamped in the midst of thee. Thou wast too beautiful.

III. Liutprand and his "Book of Retribution"

Liutprand's importance as an historical writer.

The most entertaining and at the same time one of the most instructive historians of the tenth century is Liutprand, an Italian contemporary of Otto the Great. He spent his early years at Pavia, the capital of the kingdom of Italy, and was closely associated with both King Hugo (mentioned above) and with his successor,

Berengar II. The latter sent him on an embassy to Constantinople in 949, where he added a knowledge of Greek, of which he was evidently very vain, to his already remarkable attainments in Latin literature. Five or six years later he fell out with Berengar and fled to the court of Otto the Great, whose ardent supporter he remained thereafter. When Otto had conquered his Italian kingdom in 962 he made the helpful Liutprand bishop of Cremona. In 968 he undertook a mission to Constantinople for the emperor. Here he was badly treated, and on his way back wrote a lively account of his experiences at the Byzantine court.[1] He died about 973.

Besides his account of his embassy to Constantinople, we have from Liutprand's pen a history of Europe relating chiefly to Italy and Germany during his own early years, and closing abruptly in the middle of the year 950. This is his *Book of Retribution*, extracts from which are given below. Later he undertook an account of the deeds of Otto the Great, which he never finished. This deals almost exclusively with Otto's troubles with Pope John XII in 963. Liutprand is our best source for the matters of which he had personal knowledge, and few knew more of the politics of the time. Yet even more important than his narrative of events is the light which he casts upon the thought and customs of his age, especially the life at the court of the eastern emperors.[2]

105. Liutprand explains why he wrote the *Book of Retribution*.

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, herewith begins the book ανταποδόσεως (*antapodóseos*) — that is to say, "of retribution" — for the kings and princes of a part of Europe, which Liutprand, deacon of the church at Pavia,

[1] Translated by Henderson in the appendix to his *Select Documents*.

[2] See below, pp. 340 *sqq*.

has composed ἐν τῇ ἐχμαλοσία ἀυτοῦ (*en ti echmalosia autu*), — that is to say, "during his wanderings," — and has dedicated to Recemund, bishop of Elvira, in Spain.[1]

To the Honorable Lord and Mirror of Holiness, Lord Recemund, Bishop of Elvira, Liutprand, not owing to any merit of his own, deacon of the church at Pavia, Greeting:

Owing to a want of confidence in my powers, I have now for two years hesitated to fulfill your request, my dearest father, that I should narrate the deeds of the emperors and kings of all Europe, since I knew them not through doubtful hearsay but from my own observation. I was deterred from the undertaking by my complete want of eloquence and by the ill will of the critics. For these arrogant fellows, who are too lazy to read themselves and, as the learned Boethius says, think that they wear the philosophic mantle when they have on scarcely a rag of it, will say mockingly to me, "Our predecessors have written so much that there is now a dearth of readers rather than of books." And they will quote that verse of the comedy, "We shall hear nothing that others have not said before."[2]

I answer all such barking curs by the observation that just as it is with those who the more they drink the thirstier they are, so with the learned, the more they read the more they long for new books. One who, for example, has become weary of the profound works of the eloquent Cicero may find recreation in such light writings as the present one. Just as one who gazes at the sun directly, with nothing between his eye and it, will only be dazzled and not see it in its proper shape, so the mind, it seems to me, which contemplates without intermission the teachings of the Academy, and of the Peripatetics and Stoics, will flag unless it finds refreshment in the salutary laughter called forth by comedy, or in the entertaining tales of the heroes.

[1] Liutprand probably began his book in 958, at the urgent request of the bishop of Elvira, who was sojourning at the court of Otto as the representative of the Spanish caliph, Abderrahman.

[2] A quotation from memory from Terence.

Since the abhorrent practices of the ancient heathen, the knowledge of which is not only useless but positively hurtful, are recorded in books so that it may not be lost, why should we say nothing of the warlike deeds of the men of our own time, who are in no way behind the famous generals Julius, Pompey, Hannibal, his brother Hasdrubal, and Scipio Africanus?

Doubtless, most holy father [Liutprand adds at the opening of the third book], you will constantly marvel over the title of this work. Why, you will ask, did the book receive the title Ανταπόδοσης (*antapódosis*), since it narrates the deeds of distinguished men? I answer, the aim of this work is to relate, proclaim, shout abroad to the whole world the acts of that Berengar who is now tyrant rather than king in Italy, and of his wife Willa, who, by reason of her boundless oppression, should be called a second Jezebel, and for her insatiable lust for plunder, by her true name of Lamia. Both of these have without cause persecuted me and my house, my relatives and my associates, with the poisoned arrows of lies, and by tyrannical exactions and godless intrigues such as neither tongue can tell nor pen describe.

So these pages shall be for them *antapódosis*, — that is to say, a "retribution," — because, for the evils that they have brought upon me, I propose to reveal to the present and to future generations τὴν (article) ἀσεβεῖαν (*asevian*), — that is to say, their godlessness. And not less will this be an *antapódosis* for the benefits which good and holy men have conferred upon me. For among all those whom I have mentioned or shall mention, with the single exception of this godless Berengar, there are few or none to whom either my parents or myself do not owe the warmest thanks for the good they have done us.

It is, moreover, said of this book of mine that it was written εν (that is, "in") τη (article) εχμαλοσία (*en ti echmalosia*), to wit, during "imprisonment" or "wandering." This refers to my exile; for I began it in Frankfort, which is twenty miles from Mayence, and am now working on it on the

island of Paxo [south of Corfu], some nine hundred miles from Constantinople.[1]

IV. Bruno, the Ideal of a Scholar in the Tenth Century

There was a marked revival of interest in learning in Germany under Otto the Great. We can form some idea of its character from Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*, Otto's scholarly brother, which is one of the most interesting biographies of the earlier Middle Ages.

106. From Ruotger's *Life of Bruno* condensed.

When [in 928] the noble child of kings was four years old he was sent to Utrecht, to be instructed by the venerable Bishop Baldric in liberal studies. . . . Of his progress we have heard from the bishop's own lips, for he was wont to tell of it often to the glory of God. So we know that when the boy had acquired the first rudiments of grammar he began to read, under his teacher's guidance, the poet Prudentius. This poet is Catholic in faith and in aspiration, excellent in eloquence and in truth, pleasing in meter, rich in meaning. His verses delighted the boy's heart. He mastered the words and the inner meaning, and, if I may say so, drank the purest nectar of the spirit like one athirst. As time went on, his eager mind grasped all sorts of liberal studies within the range of Greek and Latin eloquence. . . . He would not allow books which he had studied or had before him to be carelessly torn or creased, or handled heedlessly in any way. . . .

Bruno had given himself to God when he was very young; but when his brother Otto came to the throne, he recalled Bruno from the retirement of the schools to the palace, and gave him an honorable post, as was fitting. Yet he never ceased to seek learning. He was not satisfied to gather in the treasury of his mind lore easy to mine. Nay, he collected from far and near riddles and philosophical problems

[1] Liutprand appears to have been on his way to Constantinople in 959, for what reason we do not know.

foreign to the human understanding and gave them room in his heart. The seven liberal arts had been long forgotten: he brought them again to light. Whatever historians, orators, poets, philosophers had to tell that was novel or great he closely investigated, aided by teachers of the language in which the books were written.

His Latin style was well-nigh perfect, and his influence made the style of others polished and clear. He was in no wise haughty, but was dignified, courteous, affable, charming. After meals most men, even, so we understand, eminent ones, are given to rest awhile. Bruno, on the contrary, busied himself tirelessly with reading and thinking. He would not give up the morning hours at any price and never yielded to drowsiness. Jests and buffoonery which make everybody shake with laughter when put into the mouths of various persons in tragedy and comedy, he read through gravely and seriously. He thought their meaning was worthless; he estimated the style as the main thing. He took his library everywhere with him. When he followed the king he had, wherever the royal tents were pitched, the source and the materials for his studies, — the source in the sacred books, the materials in secular ones. . . . Even when he traveled he was not idle; and in a crowd he was as if alone. We could not say this of many men. . . .

He allowed himself no luxuries. He refused over and over again in the king's palace to wear the fine and soft clothing in which he had been nurtured. Among servants clad in purple and soldiers gleaming with gold he wore the mean garb and the sheepskins of a rustic. He especially spurned the comforts of the couch. He rarely frequented the bath with those who wished to make their skin white and shining. This is the more wonderful because he had been used from the cradle to the greatest daintiness and to royal splendor.

Always and everywhere, in public and in private, he bore himself as one who would avoid human praise; yet he served as an example to his inferiors. Many men profited by his words and yet more by his example.

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Otto I: BRYCE, Chapter VI, last part, Chapter VIII, and Chapter IX, first part, pp. 80–88 and 122–145; EMERTON, pp. 110–114 and 128–145; HENDERSON, *Germany in the Middle Ages*, pp. 123–144; *Short History of Germany*, pp. 49–53; TOUT, pp. 18–35.

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Theory of the Empire: BRYCE, Chapter VII, pp. 89–121.

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The Papacy under Leo IX and Nicholas II: EMERTON, pp. 204–233; TOUT, pp. 96–103 and 108–116.

The Decree of 1059 in Regard to Papal Elections: HENDERSON, *Historical Documents*, pp. 361–365.

B. Additional reading in English.

HERBERT FISHER, *The Mediæval Empire*, 2 vols. The most recent and best treatment in English. Admirable for this and the two following chapters.

NEWMAN, pp. 437–443 and 495–502.

MILMAN, Vol. III, Book V, Chapters XI–XIV, and Book VI.

GREGOROVIUS, Vol. III, Book VI, and Vol. IV, Book VII, Chapters I–III.

ALICE GREENWOOD, *The Empire and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, 1902.

DÖLLINGER, *Fables respecting the Popes in the Middle Ages*, 1872. An interesting refutation of some celebrated legends.

MATHEWS, *Select Mediæval Documents*, pp. 19–35. Gives a few important documents for this period in the original Latin.

C. Materials for advanced study

Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte, issued under the auspices of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Berlin and Leipzig, 1866 *sqq*. Thirty

volumes have appeared, coming down to the thirteenth century. This is an extraordinary treatment of the whole field of German history by reigns and years, and is designed for the exacting student rather than for the reader of history, as there is much technical discussion of minute questions of scholarship. The volumes for the Carolingian period have already been mentioned. For the tenth and early eleventh century there are the following: WAITZ, *König Heinrich I*, 1863; DÜMMLER, *Kaiser Otto der Grosse*, 1876; UHLIRZ, *Otto II und Otto III*, Vol. I, 1902; HIRSCH and BRESSLAU, *Heinrich II*, 3 vols., 1862–1875; BRESSLAU, *Konrad II*, 2 vols., 1879–1884; STEINDORFF, *Heinrich III*, 2 vols., 1874–1881.

Richter's *Annalen.*

RICHTER, *Annalen der deutschen Geschichte im Mittelalter mit durchgängiger kritischer Erläuterung aus Quellen und Literaturangaben. Ein Handbuch für das wissenschaftliche Studium der deutschen Geschichte im Mittelalter*, 3 vols., Halle, 1873–1898. This is a sort of condensation of the *Jahrbücher* mentioned above. The events are briefly recounted in the text, while in the voluminous notes, which fill a great part of the page, special points are discussed and extracts are given from the sources. It is by far the most important work within its compass for the advanced student of German mediæval history. Volumes I and II have already been mentioned; Vol. III, Part I (1890), covers the period 919–1056; Vol. III, Part II (1898), comes down to 1137.

Detailed narrative histories, which may generally be neglected.

There are a number of more or less voluminous modern narrative histories of Germany in German. The most suggestive of these is LAMPRECHT, *Deutsche Geschichte*, Berlin, 1891 *sqq.*, an original treatment, with much attention to the social and economic phases. Other works of this class are briefly described by Dr. Henderson, *A History of Germany in the Middle Ages*, pp. 21 *sqq.*

It may not be amiss to suggest that the student will do well after he has gained a tolerably clear notion of the general course of German history to proceed directly to such a work as Richter's *Annalen*, which brings him close to the sources, rather than to plod through the detailed and often rather heavy and unprofitable secondary accounts.

EBERT, *Litteratur des Mittelalters* (see above, p. 34), Vol. III. Contains the best account of the literary activity of the tenth century.

The *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*

In the preceding bibliographies frequent references have already been made to the great collection of the sources of German history in the Middle Ages known as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Hannover and Berlin, 1826 *sqq.* The first portions of this vast collection were issued in *folio* under the editorship of the distinguished scholar Pertz. Of this folio edition there are 29 volumes, known as the *Scriptores*

rerum Germanicarum. This series, beginning with the sources of the Carolingian period, is sometimes referred to as "Pertz," from its editor. There are besides in folio five volumes of laws — *Leges* — and one of *Diplomata*. Portions of this folio edition are out of print and are very expensive.

A reorganization of the whole great enterprise was undertaken after the death of Pertz, and since 1877 volumes have been appearing in quarto in several divisions. The *Auctores antiquissimi*, 13 volumes, include the Roman writers who deal with the earliest history of the Germans. Then there are the *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* and the *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum*. All these relate almost exclusively to a period anterior to Pippin and Charlemagne, and so bear rather on the history of western Europe than on that of Germany, in the later and narrower sense of the term. There are other sections of the quarto series, for example, the *Leges*, the *Epistolae*, etc.

The octavo edition of the *Monumenta*.

Many of the more important annals and chronicles included in the *Monumenta* have been reprinted in a very inexpensive form in the *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, Hannover, 1840 *sqq*., 42 vols., *octavo*. In some cases the text of the octavo edition is more recent and critical than that in the expensive *Monumenta*.

Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit.

Under the title *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, 90 vols., 2d ed., Berlin and Leipzig, 1885 *sqq*., M. 228.15, admirable translations by distinguished German scholars have been issued of the chief sources of German history for the whole period from Cæsar to the end of the fourteenth century.[1]

It is hardly necessary to add that the *Monumenta* and its offshoots, — the octavo edition and the *Geschichtschreiber*, — although edited with special attention to Germany, are far the best of all the collections of sources for the student of the general history of western Europe during the Middle Ages.

Sources for the tenth and early eleventh centuries.

The annals for the early tenth century are very meager. The extract from *The Continuation of Regino*, given above, pp. 245 *sqq*., affords an idea of their character; but in the latter half of the century several important historical works appeared:

WIDUKIND, *Deeds of the Saxons*, covering the period of Henry I and Otto the Great. The author was a monk of Corvei, and began his

[1] References to the *Monumenta* are usually abbreviated, e.g. MG. or M.G.H. SS. rer. Mer. = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*. For a fuller description and an analysis of this and other great sets, see Potthast, *Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des europäischen Mittelalters*, 2d ed., pp. xxxii *sqq*.

work in 967, when Otto was at the height of his power. See extracts above, pp. 249 *sq.* (In the octavo edition of the *Monumenta*, and in the *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXXIII.)

Liutprand of Cremona (d. *ca.* 973). See above, pp. 255 *sqq.* (In the octavo edition of the *Monumenta*, and long extracts with excellent introduction by Wattenbach in *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXIX.)

Hrosvita, a nun of Gandersheim, who died about the year 1000, composed a metrical account of Otto's deeds, but is especially well known for her dramas, which were suggested by those of Terence, but have little in common with their model either in style or substance. (Her historical works are in the octavo edition of the *Monumenta*, and in the *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXXII. Her dramas may be found in her works edited by Winterfeld, 1902, and with a French version in Magnin, *Théâtre de Hrosvita*. See Ebert, Vol. III, pp. 285 *sqq.*)

Ruotger, *Life of Bruno*, written about 966, immediately after the archbishop's death. See extracts above, pp. 259 *sq.* (In the octavo edition, and *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXX.)

For the early eleventh century the following writers are of especial note:

Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg, completed a history of the three Ottos and Henry II in 1018. (In the octavo edition, and *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXXIX.)

Hermann of Reichenau (called *Contractus*, i.e. the lame), who died in 1054, is one of the ablest historians of his time. His *Chronicle* is, of course, especially valuable for his own age, but he used an excellent source for the previous century, which has been lost, and his work is therefore as authoritative and rather more complete and orderly than the *Annals of Quedlinburg*, *Hildesheim*, etc., which belong to the latter part of the tenth century. (In the *Monumenta*, and *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XLII.)

Lambert of Hersfeld, the most elegant writer of the earlier Middle Ages, brings his annals down to 1077. Formerly greatly admired, he has of late been accused of partiality and unfairness. (In the octavo edition, and *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XLIII.)

For Gerbert's letters and the French sources, see above, p. 219 *sqq.*

Materials for the history of the papacy.

For the history of the papacy from the break-up of Charlemagne's empire to the time of Gregory VII, the following works are to be especially recommended:

Langen, *Geschichte der römischen Kirche* (see above, p. 84), Vol. III.

Delarc, *St. Grégoire VII et la Réforme de l'Église au XI^e siècle*, 3 vols., 1889. The author is a Catholic; he devotes Vols. I and II of

his work to the period before Gregory's pontificate and gives many extracts from the sources.

HAUCK, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, Vol. III. Excellent.

DRESDNER, *Kultur- und Sittengeschichte der italienischen Geistlichkeit*, 1890.

MARTENS, *Die Besetzung des päpstlichen Stuhles unter Heinrich III und IV*, 1887.

Decretales pseudo-isidorianae, edited by HINSCHIUS, 1863. The best edition of a famous collection of the acts of the councils and of the decrees of the popes made about 850, noted for the spurious decretals of the earlier bishops of Rome which it contains, and which were accepted as genuine for several centuries. Some discussion of these forged decretals will be found in the church histories for the period. Most writers have ascribed far too much importance to this compilation in explaining the development of the power of the popes, which would hardly have been less had the forgeries never been conceived.

The *pseudo Isidorian decretals.*

WATTERICH, *Pontificum romanorum vitae ab aequalibus conscriptae*, 2 vols., 1862. A collection of the contemporary lives of the popes from 872 to 1198; a modern continuation of the *Liber pontificalis* mentioned above, p. 85.

In this period, as elsewhere in the history of the mediæval papacy, JAFFÉ'S *Regesta* (see above, p. 85) is of great importance.

SACKUR, *Die Cluniacenser bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts*, Vols. I–II, 1892–1894. By far the most thorough treatment of the growth and influence of the great order of Cluny.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN GREGORY VII AND HENRY IV

I. The Early Years of Henry IV

107. The early part of Henry IV's reign. (From the *Chronicle* of Ekkehard of Aurach.)

The most comprehensive of all the mediæval chronicles covering the history of the world was written by Ekkehard of Aurach. He exercised great patience and care and repeatedly revised and elaborated his work. He began to write just before the opening of the First Crusade, in which he became greatly interested (see extract below, pp. 316 *sq.*). His fair-mindedness is shown in the following account of Henry IV's early troubles.

In the year 1057 of the Incarnation of our Lord, and the year 1808 since the founding of the City, Henry IV, son of Emperor Henry, while still a boy, began to reign in the place of his father. At the time that this book is being written, he is reigning, in his forty-second year, as the eighty-seventh emperor since Augustus. . . .

In the year of our Lord 1058, Frederick, who as pope was called Stephen, died, and Alexander, bishop of Lucca, followed him. At that time Hildebrand, who later became pope, administered the office of archdeacon in Rome.

In the year of our Lord 1059, Pope Stephen died, and Gerhard followed him under the name of Nicholas (II).[1] Henry, king of France, died, and Philip, his son, reigned in his stead.

[1] Stephen IX died in 1058 and was succeeded by Nicholas II, who was in turn succeeded by Alexander II in 1061. The confusion of dates by Ekkehard seems rather surprising, but similar mistakes are common in most of the chronicles.

In the year of our Lord 1060, Luitpold, archbishop of Mayence, died and Siegfried, abbot of Fulda, followed him, who later allied himself with others in a conspiracy against his lord the king.

In the year of our Lord 1062, Archbishop Anno of Cologne, with the consent of the leaders of the empire, brought the prince (Henry IV), of whose person he had taken violent possession, under his control, and withdrew from the prince's mother the government of the empire, as if he felt it to be unworthy that the state should be ruled by the empress, who, though a woman, was enabled to exercise power after the manner of a man. After he had given an account before all of what he had done, he again gained the favor of his lord the king, and was again reconciled to the mother through the son. . . .

In the year of our Lord 1063, Pope Nicholas died and was followed by Bishop Alexander of Lucca. . . .

In the year of our Lord 1064, Siegfried, bishop of Mayence, Gunther of Babenberg, and William of Utrecht, along with many other bishops and noblemen, set forth with a great following on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Here they suffered much from the attacks of the barbarians, but finally, having happily reached their goal, they returned, greatly reduced in numbers and strength.

In the year of our Lord 1065, Gunther, bishop of Babenberg, died in Pannonia, as he was returning from Jerusalem. His body was brought back to Babenberg and buried there, and Hermann was chosen to succeed him. Count Gozmin, who had usurped the power in the bishopric of Würzburg, was killed by the followers of Bishop Adelberon.

In the year of our Lord 1066, a comet glowed long over the whole earth. In the same year England was terribly desolated by the Norman William and finally subjugated, and he had himself made king. He then drove almost all the bishops of the said kingdom into banishment and had

the nobles killed. The commons he gave over in bondage to his knights, and he compelled the wives of the natives to marry the invaders.

In the year of our Lord 1067, King Henry took to wife Bertha, daughter of a certain Otto, an Italian, and of Adelheid; and he celebrated the wedding at Tribur. Conrad, councilor of the church at Cologne, whom King Henry had designated as bishop of Treves, was taken prisoner by Theodoric, count of that city, and was carried into the forest by his followers and thrown down three times from the top of a mountain, but since he still remained unhurt, they dispatched him with a sword.

The king's youthful recklessness.

In the year of our Lord 1068, King Henry, with youthful recklessness, began to reside in Saxony alone of all the Roman Empire, to despise the princes, oppress the nobles, exalt the lowborn, and to devote himself (as was said) to the chase, to gaming and other occupations of this kind, more than to the administration of justice. He married the daughters of the nobles to his favorites of low origin, and, full of distrust against the powerful of the empire, he began to build certain castles. By thus recklessly sowing the seeds of discord it fell out that the number of those who proposed to deprive the king not only of his kingdom but even of his life grew rapidly. However, as he had not yet fully reached the years of maturity, many judged that the responsibility did not fall so much upon him as upon Archbishop Adelbert of Bremen, since everything was done on his advice.

In the year of our Lord 1069, the Empress Agnes, mother of King Henry, through vexation, or better, through divine inspiration, surrendered the duchy of Bavaria, and, discarding the reins of government in her devotion to Christ, betook herself to Rome, where, with marvelous humility, she brought forth the fruits of repentance and after a few years closed this earthly life in the Lord.

In the year of our Lord 1070, Margrave Teti, not without the connivance of the Saxon princes, established a tyranny

directed against the king's followers. This was, however, suppressed through the intervention of the heavenly as well as the earthly majesty, for his castles of Beichlingen and Burgsheidungen were destroyed by the king; his son, likewise a warrior, was killed by some of his servants, and he himself soon died a natural death.

How the duchy of Bavaria was taken from Duke Otto.

In the year of our Lord 1071, Duke Otto lost the duchy of Bavaria. He was a Saxon by origin, a man of excellent rank, to whom few could be compared in insight and military power. He enjoyed such respect among all the princes that the king, who was already an object of suspicion and hate to the Saxons, was fearful lest this Otto might, should the king's influence decline, attempt to win the royal throne itself.

A certain Egino, of mean origin and insignificant resources, took advantage of the situation for his evil ends. Although well known for his impudence and shameless conduct, he managed to slip into the court under the protection of certain of the king's adherents. He lied to the king, saying that that great hero, Otto, who in reality had never known him, had conspired with him to murder the king. He offered himself, as was the custom, as a hostage until the truth of what he had said should be settled by a duel between him and the duke. What more need be said? After royal councils had been announced, one at Mayence and the other at Goslar, Otto disdained to fight with Egino, — the duke with the rogue, the prince with the common man, — nevertheless his innocence and Egino's shamelessness remained by no means concealed.

The duchy of Bavaria given to Welf.

So Otto, guilty of leze majesty, lost the duchy of Bavaria, which a certain Welf received, a distinguished, brave, warlike person, a Swabian by birth. From this seed, alas, did great dissension spring, which grew into the wretched fruit of continuous battles, of rebelliousness, robbery, and destruction, division in the Church, heresy, and many deaths.

In the year of our Lord 1072, the king followed Otto everywhere, destroyed as many of his fortresses as he could,

Duke Otto rouses the Saxons to revolt.

wasted his lands, and strove completely to annihilate him, as an enemy of the state. Nevertheless, Otto, with a select following, and with his own stout arm and his heart full of bitter hate, since he might not fight directly with the royal troops, sought to avenge the injury which he had suffered, now by plundering, now by fire, now by the sword, wherever opportunity offered.

At his inspiration the Saxon people — of a very violent disposition as they are — ceased not, with one accord, to organize a conspiracy against the king; sent letters full of insulting and unheard-of accusations against the king to the apostolic see, and sought allies by letter and messenger throughout the whole German empire.

In the first place they made friends with Siegfried, the archbishop of Mayence, Adelbert of Worms, Adelberon of Würzburg, Gebhardt of Salzburg, and other bishops, as many as they could, and then through these they gained Pope Alexander. Many assert too that, last and greatest, Anno, archbishop of Cologne, was one of those privy to this conspiracy. Frightened at last by these intrigues, the king left Saxony and conducted the business of the empire in other regions.

In the year of our Lord 1073, the archbishop of Cologne and Hermann of Babenberg were sent to Rome in order to get together the money which was owing the king there. They brought back, on their return, a letter from Pope Alexander, in which the king was ordered to give an account of his heresy, simony, and many other similar matters which called for improvement, rumors of which had reached him in Rome.

Thereupon the Saxons built many strongholds, for up to this time that country had had but few of them. Moreover they completely destroyed the castles which the king had built some time before. Among these they tore down the castle which was called Harzburg, the cathedral and the abbey which stood there, destroying all these in their rage and perversity, down to the very ground. Horrible to say, they

took up the bones of the innocent son of the king, who had been buried there, and scattered them about as an insult to the father.

Hildebrand, the monk, becomes pope as Gregory VII

In the year of our Lord 1074, after Pope Alexander of blessed memory had died, Hildebrand, later called Gregory, followed him; by profession and rank he was a monk and archdeacon. Under him the Roman Empire and the whole Church began to be threatened by new and unheard-of divisions and turmoil. Since Gregory had reached this height of power without the king's permission, simply through the favor of the Romans, some asserted that he was not rightfully chosen, but had seized the papal dignity with his own hand. Therefore he was not recognized by some of the bishops. Gregory repeatedly summoned King Henry through messengers and letters to answer for his deeds before a synod.

In the year of our Lord 1074, Pope Gregory, after holding a synod, condemned the simonists, namely those who bought and sold the gift of the Holy Ghost, and provided that the Nicolaitae, that is to say, the priests who had married, should be removed from the service of the altar, and forbade the laity to attend masses performed by them.

In the year of the Lord 1075, King Henry moved against the Saxons, after he had collected a strong army from Alemannia, Bavaria, and Germania, and from Bohemia. He fought with the Saxons on the river Unstrut and after much blood had been shed on both sides, he finally returned home victorious.

Rudolph, duke of Alemannia and Burgundy, who later usurped the imperial crown, fought bravely there with his followers for the king. Bishop Hermann of Babenberg was deposed, on account of his simoniacal practices, by command of Pope Hildebrand, and Ruotpert was put in his place by the king. In this year died Anno, archbishop of Cologne, rich in merits of piety, and was buried in the cloister of Siegburg, which he himself had built. He was followed by Hildolf.

II. The Issue between Pope and Emperor in the Matter of Investiture

108. The conference at Châlons sur Marne in regard to the question of investiture (1107). (From Suger's *Life of Louis the Fat.*)

A conference was arranged at Châlons in 1107 between the representatives of the pope and those of the emperor, where the demands of each party might be clearly stated. Although this did not occur until just after the death of Henry IV, it seems best to introduce at this point an account of the arguments advanced by each side, since they serve to show the real nature of the troubles between Henry and Gregory. The report which follows is given by Suger in his *Life of Louis the Fat* (see above, p. 198). He was himself present at the conference and evidently neither liked the Germans nor approved of their arguments and point of view.

The pope (Paschal II) having spent some time in Châlons, the representatives of the emperor, men void of humility, hard and rebellious, betook themselves according to agreement to the place of meeting, with much display and a numerous escort, all richly appareled. These envoys were the archbishop of Treves, the bishops of Halberstadt and of Münster, several counts, and Duke Welf, who had his sword carried before him. The latter was a man of great corpulence, truly astonishing in the length and breadth of his surface, and a loud-mouthed fellow withal. These turbulent men seemed to have been dispatched with a view to terrify those they met rather than to discuss matters in a rational way.

We should make a single exception of the archbishop of Treves: he was an agreeable person, of good manners, well educated, a good speaker, and with a touch of French polish. He made a clever speech, saluting the lord pope and the assembly in the name of his master, and offering the emperor's services, saving always the rights of the imperial throne.

Then, reaching the real object of their mission, he continued as follows:

The claims of the emperor.

"This is the reason that the emperor has sent us hither. It is well known that in the time of our predecessors it was recognized by holy and truly apostolic men, like Gregory the Great and others, that, according to the law of the empire, in every election the following method should be observed. First, the election was brought to the emperor's attention before it was publicly announced. Before deciding the matter measures were taken to learn whether he approved of the candidate proposed, and his sanction was obtained. Then, following the canons,[1] the election was proclaimed in a general meeting, as having been carried out by the clergy with the ratification of the people and the assent of the distributor of honors. The person chosen, freely elected without simony in the manner above described, should then present himself to the emperor to be invested with the regalia by the ring and the staff, to pledge his fidelity and to do homage. Nor is it any wonder that there should be no other way by which one should be able to get possession of towns, castles, markets, tolls, and other things associated with the imperial dignity. If the lord pope will recognize this, the throne and the Church will be united, to the glory of God, in a firm and advantageous peace."

The counter-claims of the pope.

To all this the lord pope replied judiciously, by the mouth of the bishop of Piacenza, a distinguished orator, as follows: "The Church, redeemed and made free by the precious blood of Jesus Christ, may in no way become a slave again. Now if the Church cannot choose a prelate without the permission of the emperor, she is subject to him, and Christ's death is made of no avail. To invest with the ring and the staff, since these belong to the altar, is to usurp the powers of God himself. For a priest to place his hands, sanctified by the body and blood of the Lord, in the blood-stained hands of a layman, as a pledge, is to dishonor his order and holy consecration."

[1] See *History of Western Europe*, p. 155.

III. Gregory VII's Conception of the Pope's Prerogatives

109. The *Dictatus* of Gregory VII (1075).

Among the letters and decrees of Gregory VII a list of propositions is found which briefly summarizes the claims of the papacy. The purpose of this so-called *Dictatus* is unknown; it was probably drawn up shortly after Gregory's accession and no doubt gives an official statement of the powers which he believed that he rightly possessed. The more important of the twenty-seven propositions contained in the *Dictatus* are given below.

The Roman church was founded by God alone.

The Roman bishop alone is properly called universal.

He alone may depose bishops and reinstate them.

His legate, though of inferior grade, takes precedence, in a council, of all bishops and may render a decision of deposition against them.

He alone may use the insignia of empire.[1]

The pope is the only person whose feet are kissed by all princes.

His title is unique in the world.[2]

He may depose emperors.

No council may be regarded as a general one without his consent.

No book or chapter may be regarded as canonical without his authority.

A decree of his may be annulled by no one; he alone may annul the decrees of all.

[1] The Donation of Constantine describes the emperor Constantine as leaving his imperial scepter, cloak, etc., to Pope Sylvester. The word "use" (Latin *uti*) here employed may perhaps be used in the sense of "dispose of," referring to the pope's asserted claim to control the election of the emperor.

[2] This is the first distinct assertion of the exclusive right of the bishop of Rome to the title of pope, once applied to all bishops. See *History of Western Europe*, p. 52, note.

He may be judged by no one.

No one shall dare to condemn one who appeals to the papal see.

The Roman church has never erred, nor ever, by the witness of Scripture, shall err to all eternity.[1]

He may not be considered Catholic who does not agree with the Roman church.

The pope may absolve the subjects of the unjust from their allegiance.

IV. Origin of the Troubles between Gregory VII and Henry IV

In 1075 a synod held at Rome under Gregory VII denounced the marriage of the clergy, prohibited lay investiture, and then excommunicated five of Henry IV's councilors on the ground that they had gained the church offices which they held, by simony. While the text of this decree, which in a way began the trouble between Gregory and Henry, is lost, it was probably similar to the following decrees issued respectively three and five years later.

110. Decree of November 19, 1078, forbidding lay investitures.

Inasmuch as we have learned that, contrary to the ordinances of the holy fathers, the investiture with churches is, in many places, performed by lay persons, and that from this cause many disturbances arise in the Church by which the Christian religion is degraded, we decree that no one of the clergy shall receive the investiture with a bishopric, or abbey, or church, from the hand of an emperor, or king, or of any lay person, male or female. If he shall presume to do so, let him know that such investiture is void by apostolic authority, and that he himself shall lie under excommunication until fitting satisfaction shall have been made.

[1] See sermon of Leo the Great, above, pp. 70–71.

Decree of March 7, 1080, forbidding the same.

Following the ordinances of the holy fathers, as we decreed in our former councils held by the mercy of God concerning the regulation of ecclesiastical offices, so also now by apostolic authority we decree and confirm: that, if any one shall henceforth receive a bishopric or abbey from the hands of any lay person, he shall by no means be reckoned among the bishops and abbots; nor shall any hearing be granted him as bishop or abbot. Moreover we further deny him the favor of St. Peter and entrance to the Church, until, coming to his senses, he shall surrender the position that he has appropriated through criminal ambition and disobedience — which is the sin of idolatry. We decree, moreover, that the same rule be observed in the case of inferior ecclesiastical positions.

Likewise if any emperor, king, duke, margrave, count, or any secular dignitary or person shall presume to bestow the investiture with bishoprics, or with any ecclesiastical office, let him know that he is bound by the bonds of the same condemnation. And, furthermore, unless he come to his senses and relinquish her prerogatives to the Church, let him feel, in this present life, the divine wrath both in body and estate, in order that at the Lord's coming his soul may be saved.

The two letters which follow serve to show the attitude of mind of the pope and of the emperor on the eve of open hostilities.

Bishop Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to King Henry, greeting and apostolic benediction: — that is, if he be obedient to the apostolic chair as beseems a Christian king:

111. Gregory's letter of December, 1075, upbraiding Henry for his neglect of the papal decrees.

For we cannot but hesitate to send thee our benediction when we seriously consider the strictness of the Judge to whom we shall have to render account for the ministry intrusted to us by St. Peter, chief of the apostles. For thou art said knowingly to associate with men excommunicated by a judgment of the apostolic chair and by sentence of a synod. If this be true, thou thyself dost

know that thou mayst not receive the favor of the divine, nor of the apostolic benediction, unless those who have been excommunicated be separated from thee and compelled to do penance, and thou, with condign repentance and satisfaction, obtain absolution and pardon for thy misdeeds. Therefore we counsel thy Highness that, if thou dost feel thyself guilty in this matter, thou shouldst seek the advice of some devout bishop, with prompt confession. He, with our permission, enjoining on thee a proper penance for this fault, shall absolve thee, and shall take care to inform us by letter, with thy consent, of the exact measure of thy penance.

In the next place, it seems strange to us that although thou dost so often send us such devoted letters; and although thy Highness dost show such humility in the messages of thy legates, — calling thyself the son of holy mother Church and of ourselves, subject in the faith, foremost in love and devotion; — although, in short, thou dost commend thyself with all the sweetness of devotion and reverence, yet in conduct and action thou dost show thyself most stubborn, and in opposition to the canonical and apostolic decrees in those matters which the religion of the Church deems of chief importance. For, not to mention other things, in the affair of Milan[1] the actual outcome shows with what intent thou didst make, and how thou didst carry out, the promises made through thy mother and through our brothers the bishops whom we sent to thee. And now, indeed, inflicting wound upon wound, thou hast, contrary to the rules of the apostolic chair, given the churches of Fermo and Spoleto — if indeed a church can be given or granted by a mere man — to certain persons not even known to us, on whom, unless they are previously well known and proven, it is not lawful regularly to perform the laying on of hands.

It would have beseemed thy royal dignity, since thou dost confess thyself a son of the Church, to have treated more

[1] There had been trouble even before Gregory's accession over the question of filling the bishopric of Milan.

respectfully the master of the Church, — that is, St. Peter, the chief of the apostles. For to him, if thou art of the Lord's sheep, thou wast given over by the Lord's voice and authority to be fed; Christ himself saying, "Peter, feed my sheep." And again: "To thee are given over the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

Inasmuch as in his seat and apostolic ministration we, however sinful and unworthy, do, by the providence of God, act as the representative of his power, surely he himself is receiving whatever, in writing or by word of mouth, thou hast sent to us. And at the very time when we are either perusing thy letters or listening to the voices of those who speak for thee, he himself is observing, with discerning eye, in what spirit the instructions were issued. Wherefore thy Highness should have seen to it that no lack of good will should appear toward the apostolic chair in thy words and messages. . . .

A reference to the decree of 1075 forbidding investitures by laymen.

In this year a synod was assembled about the apostolic chair, over which the heavenly dispensation willed that we should preside, and at which some of thy faithful subjects were present. Seeing that the good order of the Christian religion has now for some time been disturbed, and that the chief and proper methods of winning souls have, at the instigation of the devil, long been neglected and suppressed, we, struck by the danger and impending ruin of the Lord's flock, reverted to the decrees and teachings of the holy fathers, — decreeing nothing new, nothing of our own invention.[1] . . .

The pope willing to moderate his decree.

Lest these things should seem unduly burdensome or unjust to thee, we did admonish thee, through thy faithful servants, that the changing of an evil custom should not alarm thee; that thou shouldst send to us wise and religious men from thy land, to demonstrate or prove, if they could, by any reasoning, in what respects, saving the honor of the

[1] See above, pp. 275 *sqq.*

Eternal King and without danger to our soul, we might moderate the decree as passed by the holy fathers, and we would yield to their counsels. Even without our friendly admonitions it would have been but right that, before thou didst violate apostolic decrees, thou shouldst reasonably have appealed to us in cases where we oppressed thee or infringed thy prerogatives. But how little thou didst esteem our commands or the dictates of justice is shown by those things which thou afterwards didst.

But since the long-suffering patience of God still invites thee to amend thy ways, we have hopes that thy understanding may be awakened, and thy heart and mind be bent to obey the mandates of God: we exhort thee with paternal love to recognize the dominion of Christ over thee and to reflect how dangerous it is to prefer thine own honor to his.

Henry, irritated not so much by the tone of the above letter as by the reproaches of Gregory's legates, sent the following violent reply, January 24, 1076.[1]

112. Henry IV's violent reply to Gregory.

Henry, King not by usurpation but by holy ordination of God, to Hildebrand, now no Pope but false monk:

Such greeting as this hast thou merited through thy disturbances, for there is no rank in the Church but thou hast brought upon it, not honor but disgrace, not a blessing but a curse. To mention a few notable cases out of the many, thou hast not only dared to assail the rulers of the holy Church, the anointed of the Lord, — archbishops, bishops, and priests, — but thou hast trodden them under foot like slaves ignorant of what their master is doing. By so crushing them thou hast won the favor of the common herd; thou hast regarded them all as knowing nothing, — thyself alone as knowing all things. Yet this knowledge thou hast

[1] Henry appears to have prepared two replies to the pope's letter. This is the second draft, more violent than one which Henry had dispatched just before. See discussion in Richter's *Annalen der deutschen Geschichte*, Vol. II, pp. 202–203.

exerted, not for their advantage but for their destruction; so that with reason we believe St. Gregory, whose name thou hast usurped, prophesied of thee when he said, "The pride of the magistrate commonly waxes great if the number of those subject to him be great, and he thinks that he can do more than they all."

We, forsooth, have endured all this in our anxiety to save the honor of the apostolic see, but thou hast mistaken our humility for fear, and hast, accordingly, ventured to attack the royal power conferred upon us by God, and threatened to divest us of it. As if we had received our kingdom from thee! As if the kingdom and the empire were in thy hands, not in God's! For our Lord Jesus Christ did call us to the kingdom, although he has not called thee to the priesthood: that thou hast attained by the following steps.

By craft abhorrent to the profession of monk, thou hast acquired wealth; by wealth, influence; by influence, arms; by arms, a throne of peace. And from the throne of peace thou hast destroyed peace; thou hast turned subjects against their governors, for thou, who wert not called of God, hast taught that our bishops, truly so called, should be despised. Thou hast put laymen above their priests, allowing them to depose or condemn those whom they themselves had received as teachers from the hand of God through the laying on of bishops' hands.

Thou hast further assailed me also, who, although unworthy of anointing, have nevertheless been anointed to the kingdom, and who, according to the traditions of the holy fathers, am subject to the judgment of God alone, to be deposed upon no charge save that of deviation from the faith, — which God avert! For the holy fathers by their wisdom committed the judgment and deposition of even Julian the Apostate not to themselves but to God alone. Likewise the true pope, Peter, himself exclaims: "Fear God. Honor the king." But thou, who dost not fear God, art dishonoring me, his appointed one. Wherefore, St. Paul, since he spared not an angel of heaven if he should preach other than the gospel, has not excepted thee, who dost teach other

doctrine upon earth. For he says, "If any one, whether I, or an angel from heaven, shall preach the gospel other than that which has been preached to you, he shall be damned."

Thou, therefore, damned by this curse and by the judgment of all our bishops and ourselves, come down and relinquish the apostolic chair which thou hast usurped. Let another assume the seat of St. Peter, who will not practice violence under the cloak of religion, but will teach St. Peter's wholesome doctrine. I, Henry, king by the grace of God, together with all our bishops, say unto thee: "Come down, come down, to be damned throughout all eternity!"

V. Gregory's Deposition of Henry IV. Henry's Penance at Canossa

113. First deposition and excommunication of Henry IV (February 22, 1076).

O St. Peter, chief of the apostles, incline to us, I beg, thy holy ear, and listen to thy servant, whom from infancy thou hast nurtured, and whom, until this day, thou hast shielded from the hand of the wicked that hated me, and do hate me, for my faithfulness to thee. Thou and my Lady, the Mother of God, and thy brother, St. Paul, are witnesses for me among all the saints that thy holy Roman church placed me in control against my will; that I had no thought of violence in ascending to thy chair, and that I should rather have ended my life as a pilgrim than by worldly means to have gained thy throne for the sake of earthly glory.

Therefore, through thy grace and through my own merit, I believe that it has been and is thy will that the Christian people especially committed to thee should obey me. To me, in particular, as thy representative and the recipient of thy favor, has God granted the power of binding and loosing in heaven and earth. In this confidence, therefore, for the honor and security of thy Church, in the name of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by thy power and authority, I withdraw from Henry the king, son of Henry the emperor, a rebel of incredible insolence against thy Church, his right to rule over the whole kingdom of the

Germans and over Italy. And I absolve all Christians from the bonds of the oath which they have taken to him or which they shall in future take; and I forbid any one to serve him as king.

For it is fitting that he who strives to lessen the honor of thy Church should himself lose the honor which seems to belong to him. And since he has scorned to obey as a Christian, and has not returned to God whom he has deserted, but has had intercourse with the excommunicated; practiced manifold iniquities; spurned the counsels which, as thou art witness, I sent to him for his own salvation; separated himself from thy Church and endeavored to rend it asunder; I bind him, in thy stead, with the chain of the anathema. Relying upon thee, I bind him, that the people may know and prove that thou art Peter, and upon thy rock the Son of the living God hath built his Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

114. Gregory's account of Henry's penance at Canossa (1077).

Bishop Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to all the Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Counts, and other princes of the realm of the Germans, defenders of the Christian faith, greeting and apostolic benediction:

Inasmuch as for the love of justice ye have assumed common cause and danger with us in the stress of this Christian warfare, we have bethought us to relate to you, beloved, in sincere affection, how the king, humbled to penance, has obtained the pardon of absolution, and how the whole matter has progressed since his entry into Italy up to the present day.

As had been arranged with the legates whom you dispatched to us, we came into Lombardy about twenty days before the date on which one of the nobles was to meet us at the pass, and awaited his coming before we crossed over to the other side of the Alps.

When the time fixed upon had quite passed, we were told, as we could well believe, that at that season, on account of the numerous obstacles, an escort could not be sent to meet us. We were then involved in no little anxiety as

to what we would best do, since we had no means of crossing over to you.

Meanwhile, however, we learned positively that the king was approaching. Indeed, before he entered Italy he had sent us suppliant messages, offering to render satisfaction, in all respects, to God, St. Peter, and ourselves. He also renewed his promise that he would be perfectly obedient in the matter of amending his life if only he might win from us the favor of absolution and of the apostolic benediction.

When, after many delays and after much consultation, we had, through all the envoys who passed between us, severely reprimanded him for his offenses, he at length came of his own accord, accompanied by a few followers, with no hostility or arrogance in his bearing, to the town of Canossa, where we were tarrying. And there, laying aside all the trappings of royalty, he stood in wretchedness, barefooted and clad in woolen, for three days before the gate of the castle, and implored with profuse weeping the aid and consolation of the apostolic mercy, until he had moved all who saw or heard of it to such pity and depth of compassion that they interceded for him with many prayers and tears and wondered at the unaccustomed hardness of our heart; some even protested that we were displaying not the seriousness of the apostolic displeasure but the cruelty of tyrannical ferocity.

At last, overcome by his persistent remorse and by the earnest entreaties of those with us, we loosed the chain of anathema and received him into the favor of our fellowship and into the lap of the holy mother Church, accepting the pledges given below.[1] We also obtained a confirmation of the transaction from the abbot of Cluny, from our daughters Matilda[2] and the countess Adelaide, and from such princes, ecclesiastical and lay, as seemed to us proper.

[1] Henry took an oath that he would carry out the wishes of the pope; this may be found in Henderson, *Select Documents*, pp. 387–388.

[2] The countess of Tuscany, to whom the castle of Canossa belonged.

VI. The Pope fully explains the Natural Supremacy of the Spiritual over the Civil Power

115. Letter of Gregory VII to the bishop of Metz (March, 1081).

The following is one of the fullest and most instructive general justifications of the papal supremacy that has come down to us.

Bishop Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brother in Christ, Hermann, Bishop of Metz, greeting and the apostolic benediction:

It is doubtless through God's grace that thou art ready, as we hear, to endure trials and dangers in the defense of the truth. . . . However, thy request to be supported and fortified by a letter from us directed against those persons who are constantly asserting, with perverse tongues, that the holy and apostolic see had no authority to excommunicate Henry — the scorner of Christian law, the destroyer of churches and of the empire, the patron and companion of heretics — nor to absolve any one from the oath of fidelity to him, hardly seems necessary to us when so many and such absolutely decisive warrants are to be found in the pages of Holy Scriptures. . . .

Diabolical origin of civil rule.

Shall not an office instituted by laymen — by those even who did not know God — be subject to that office which the providence of God Almighty has instituted for his own honor, and in compassion given to the world? For his Son, even as he is unquestioningly believed to be God and man, so is he considered the chief of priests, sitting on the right hand of the Father and always interceding for us. Yet he despised a secular kingdom, over which the men of this world swell with pride, and came of his own will to the priesthood of the cross. Whereas all know that kings and princes are descendants of men who were ignorant of God, and who, by arrogance, robbery, perfidy, murder, — in a word by almost every crime, — at the prompting of the prince of this world, the devil, strove with blind avarice and intolerable presumption to gain the mastery over their equals, that is, over mankind.

To whom, indeed, can we better compare them, when they seek to make the priests of God bend to their feet, than to him who is chief of all the sons of pride and who tempted the highest Pontiff himself, the chief of priests, the Son of the Most High, and promised to him all the kingdoms of the world, saying, "All these will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me"?

Who doubts that the priests of Christ should be regarded as the fathers and masters of kings and princes, and of all the faithful? Is it not evidently hopeless folly for a son to attempt to domineer over his father, a pupil over his master, or for any one, by iniquitous exactions, to claim power over him by whom he himself, as he acknowledges, can be bound and loosed both on earth and in heaven? Constantine, the great lord of all kings and princes throughout nearly the whole world, plainly understood this, as the blessed Gregory observes in a letter to the emperor Mauritius, for Constantine took his seat after all the bishops in the holy Council of Nicæa; he presumed to issue no decisions superior to theirs, but addressed them as gods, and declared that they should not be subject to his judgment, but that he was dependent upon their will.[1] . . .

Cases of churchmen excommunicating kings.

Armed accordingly with such decrees and authority, many bishops have excommunicated, in some cases kings, in others emperors. If the names of such princes are asked for, it may be said that the blessed pope Innocent excommunicated the emperor Arcadius for consenting to the expulsion of St. John Chrysostom from his see. Likewise another Roman pontiff, Zacharias, deposed a king of the Franks, not so much for his iniquities, as for the reason that he was not fitted to exercise his great power. And he substituted Pippin, father of the emperor Charles the Great, in his place, — releasing all the Franks from the oath of fealty which they had sworn to him, — as, indeed, the holy Church frequently does, by its abundant authority, when it absolves

[1] Gregory adds here some extracts from the letter of Pope Gelasius, which is given above, pp. 72–73.

servitors from the fetters of an oath sworn to such bishops as are deposed by apostolic sentence from their pontifical rank.

The blessed Ambrose — who, although a saint, was yet not bishop over the whole Church — excommunicated and excluded from the Church the emperor Theodosius the Great for a fault which was not looked upon as very grave by other priests. He shows, too, in his writings that gold does not so far excel lead in value as the priestly dignity transcends the royal power. He speaks in this fashion near the beginning of his pastoral letter: "The honor and sublimity of bishops, brethren, is beyond all comparison. To compare them to resplendent kings and diademed princes would be far more unworthy than to compare the base metal lead to gleaming gold. For one may see how kings and princes bow their necks before the knees of priests, and kiss their right hands so as to believe themselves protected by their prayers." . . .

Furthermore every Christian king, when he comes to die, seeks as a poor suppliant the aid of a priest, that he may escape hell's prison, may pass from the darkness into the light, and at the judgment of God may appear absolved from the bondage of his sins. Who, in his last hour, whether layman or priest, has ever implored the aid of an earthly king for the salvation of his soul? And what king or emperor is able, by reason of the office he holds, to rescue a Christian from the power of the devil through holy baptism, to number him among the sons of God, and to fortify him with the divine unction? Who of them can by his own words make the body and blood of our Lord, — the greatest act in the Christian religion? Or who of them possesses the power of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth? From all of these considerations it is clear how greatly the priestly office excels in power.

Who of them can ordain a single clerk in the holy Church, much less depose him for any fault? For in the ranks of the Church a greater power is needed to depose than to ordain. Bishops may ordain other bishops, but can by no

means depose them without the authority of the apostolic see. Who, therefore, of even moderate understanding, can hesitate to give priests the precedence over kings? Then, if kings are to be judged by priests for their sins, by whom should they be judged with better right than by the Roman pontiff?

In short, any good Christian whatsoever might far more properly be considered as a king than might a bad prince; for the former, seeking the glory of God, strenuously governs himself, whereas the latter, seeking the things which are his own and not the things of God, is an enemy to himself and a tyrannical oppressor of others. Faithful Christians constitute the body of the true king, Christ; evil rulers, that of the devil. The former rule themselves in the hope that they will eternally reign with the Supreme Emperor, but the sway of the latter ends in their destruction and eternal damnation with the prince of darkness, who is king over all the sons of pride.

Bishops chosen by the emperor naturally support him

It is certainly not strange that wicked bishops are of one mind with a bad king, whom they love and fear for the honors which they have wrongfully obtained from him. Such men, simoniacally ordaining whom they please, sell God even for a paltry sum. As even the elect are indissolubly united with their Head, so also the wicked constitute a pertinacious league with him who is the head of evil, with the special purpose of resisting the good. But surely we ought not so much to inveigh against them as to mourn for them with tears and lamentations, beseeching God Almighty to snatch them from the snares of Satan in which they are held captive, and after their peril to bring them at last to a knowledge of the truth.

How kings should be kept in a humble frame of mind.

We refer to those kings and emperors who, too much elated by worldly glory, rule not for God but for themselves. Now, since it belongs to our office to admonish and encourage every one as befits the special rank or dignity which he enjoys, we endeavor, by God's grace, to implant in emperors and kings and other princes the virtue of humility, that they may be able to allay the gusts of passion and the floods of

pride. For we know that mundane glory and worldly cares usually foster pride, especially in those who are in authority, and that, in consequence, they forget humility and seek ever their own glory, and dominion over their brethren. Wherefore it is well for kings and emperors, particularly when they grow haughty in spirit and delight in their own pomp, to discover a means by which they may be humbled and be brought to realize that the cause of their complacency is the very thing that they should most fear.

Kings and emperors rarely attain salvation

Let them, therefore, diligently consider how dangerous and how much to be dreaded are the royal and imperial offices. For in them very few are saved, and those who, through the mercy of God, do attain to salvation are not so glorified in the holy Church by the will of the Holy Spirit as are many of the poor. From the beginning of the world to this our own day, in the whole extent of recorded history, we do not find seven emperors or kings whose lives were as distinguished for piety and as beautified by the gift of miracles as were those of an innumerable multitude who despised the world; yet, notwithstanding this, we believe that many of them achieved salvation through the almighty God of mercy.

What emperor or king was ever honored by miracles as were St. Martin, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, not to mention the apostles and the martyrs? What emperor or king raised the dead, cleansed lepers, or gave sight to the blind? Observe how the holy Church praises and reveres the emperor Constantine of blessed memory, Theodosius, Honorius, Charles, and Louis, lovers of justice, promoters of Christian religion, defenders of the churches; yet it does not ascribe even to them such resplendent and glorious miracles. Furthermore, how many emperors or kings have chapels or altars dedicated to them by order of the holy Church, or masses celebrated in their honor?

Terrible responsibility of the royal power.

Let kings and princes fear lest the more they exult in their sway over men in this life, the more they shall be subjected to eternal fires; for of them it is written, "The mighty shall suffer mightily in torment." They must needs

render account to God for as many as they had under their dominion, and if it be no slight task for any devout person in a private station to guard his single soul, how much labor devolves upon them who rule over many thousands of souls?

Moreover if the judgment of the holy Church severely punishes a sinner for the slaying of one man, what will become of them who, for the sake of worldly renown, send many thousands of souls to death? Such men, though after a great slaughter they may say with their lips, "We have sinned," nevertheless inwardly rejoice that they have extended their so-called fame. They would not undo what they have done, nor do they grieve that they have sent their brethren down to Tartarus. And so long as they do not repent with their whole heart, and refuse to let go what they have gained or kept through the shedding of human blood, their repentance fails in the sight of God to bring forth the true fruit of repentance.

They should, therefore, be in constant apprehension and should frequently recall to mind that, as we have already said, from the beginning of the world very few of the multitude of kings in the various realms of the earth are known to have been holy, whereas in one see alone, the Roman, — where bishops have succeeded one another in an unbroken line, — almost a hundred, since the time of St. Peter the apostle, are reckoned among the most holy. Why is this, except that kings and princes of the earth, seduced by vain glory, prefer, as has been said, the things that are their own to the things that are spiritual, whereas the bishops of the Church, despising vain glory, prefer to carnal things the things that are of God? The former punish promptly offenders against themselves and are indifferent to sinners against God. The latter pardon readily those who sin against themselves, but do not spare those who are remiss toward God. The former, too much bent on earthly achievements, think slightingly of spiritual ones; the latter, sedulously meditating upon heavenly things, despise the things of earth.

VII. The Formal Settlement of the Question of Investiture

In the year 1111, during the negotiations between Henry V and Pope Paschal II in regard to the adjustment of the long-standing controversy over investitures, the pope agreed for a moment that the bishops should give up all the governmental powers and privileges which they clearly owed to the emperor. The emperor would then no longer have his old excuse for meddling in the elections of the prelates. The opposition was too strong to permit so revolutionary a settlement to be carried out, but the document in which the plan is set forth gives as clear a statement as exists of the situation of the mediæval prelate.

116. A proposed plan to keep the clergy out of politics.

Bishop Paschal, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son Henry and his successors forever:

It is forbidden by the provisions of divine law, and interdicted by the holy canons, that priests should busy themselves with secular concerns or should attend the public tribunals except to rescue the condemned or bear aid to those who are suffering wrong. Wherefore, also, the apostle Paul says, "If ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the church." Nevertheless in portions of your kingdom bishops and abbots are so absorbed in secular affairs that they are obliged regularly to appear at court and to perform military service, pursuits rarely, if ever, carried on without plunder, sacrilege, or arson.

Ministers of the altar are become ministers of the king's court, inasmuch as they receive cities, duchies, margravates, mints, and other things which have to do with the king's service. Hence the custom has grown up, intolerable for the Church, that bishops should not receive consecration until they have first been invested by the hand of the king.

From this have sprung the prevalent vices of simoniacal heresy and ambition, at times so strong that episcopal sees were filled without any previous election. Occasionally investiture has even taken place while the bishop holding the office was still alive.

Alarmed by these and many other evils which had come about, owing chiefly to the method of investiture, our predecessors, the pontiffs Gregory VII and Urban II of blessed memory, in the councils of the bishops which they frequently held, condemned investitures by lay hands, and decreed that those who had obtained churches in this manner should be deposed and the donors also should be excluded from the communion, in accordance with that chapter of the Apostolic Canons which runs: "If any bishop do employ the powers of the world to obtain a church, he shall be deposed and isolated, as well as all who communicate with him." We also, following in the path of these examples, have confirmed their decision in an episcopal council.

So, most beloved son, King Henry, — now through our sanction, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans, — we decree that those royal appurtenances are to be restored to thee and to thy kingdom which clearly belonged to that kingdom in the time of Charles, Louis, and of thy other predecessors. We forbid and prohibit, under penalty of anathema, any bishop or abbot, present or future, from intruding upon these same royal appurtenances; in which are included the cities, duchies, margravates, counties, mints, tolls, market rights, manors, rights of royal bailiffs, and rights of the judges of the courts of the hundreds, which manifestly belong to the king, together with what pertains to them, the military posts and camps of the kingdom. Nor shall they henceforth, unless by favor of the king, have aught to do with these royal appurtenances. Neither shall it be allowable for our successors, who shall follow us in the apostolic chair, to disturb thee or thy kingdom in this matter.

In addition we decree that the churches, with their offerings and hereditary possessions which plainly do not belong to the kingdom, shall remain free; as on the day of thy

coronation, before the whole church, thou didst promise they should be. It is right that the bishops, freed from secular cares, should take charge of their people and no longer be absent from their churches; for, as the apostle Paul says, let them watch, as men about to render an account for the souls of the people.

117. Concordat of Worms (September 23, 1122).

The final compromise between the emperor and pope in regard to investitures, called the "Concordat of Worms," reads as follows:

(*a*) The pope's agreement.

I, Bishop Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, do grant to thee, beloved son Henry, by the grace of God emperor august of the Romans, permission to hold the elections of the bishops and abbots of the German realm who belong to the kingdom, in thy presence, without simony or show of violence; with the understanding that, should any discord arise among those concerned, thou, by the counsel and judgment of the metropolitan and the suffragan bishops, shalt give support and aid to the party which appears to have the better case. Moreover the one elected may receive the regalia from thee through the scepter, subject to no exactions; and he shall perform his lawful duties to thee for them.

He who is consecrated in other parts of the empire [i.e. in Burgundy or Italy] shall, within six months and subject to no exactions, receive the regalia from thee through the scepter, and shall perform his lawful duties for them, saving all rights which are known to pertain to the Roman Church. In whatever cases thou shalt make complaint to me and ask my help, I, as my office requires, will furnish thee aid. I grant, moreover, to thee, and to all those who are or have been of thy party during this conflict, a true peace.

(*b*) Edict of Henry V.

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, I, Henry, by the grace of God emperor august of the Romans, for the love of God and of the holy Roman Church and of our lord, Pope Calixtus, and for the cleansing of my soul, do surrender to God and to the holy apostles of God, Peter and Paul, and

to the holy Catholic Church, all investiture through the ring and the staff; and do agree that in all churches throughout my kingdom and empire there shall be canonical elections and free consecration.

All the property and regalia of St. Peter which have been seized upon from the beginning of this conflict until this day and which I now hold I restore to that same holy Roman Church; and will faithfully aid in the restoration of that which is not in my own hands. The goods also of all other churches and princes and of every one, whether lay or ecclesiastical, which have been lost in the struggle, I will restore, as far as I hold them, according to the counsel of the princes and the behests of justice. I will also faithfully promote the restoration of that which I do not hold.

And I grant a true peace to our master, Pope Calixtus, and to the holy Roman Church, and to all those who are or have been on its side. In matters where the holy Roman Church shall seek assistance, I will faithfully render it, and whensoever it shall appeal to me I will see that justice is done.

All this has been done by the consent and counsel of the princes, whose names are here added: Adalbert, archbishop of Mayence; F., archbishop of Cologne; H., bishop of Ratisbon; O., bishop of Bamberg; B., bishop of Speyer; H., of Augsburg; G., of Utrecht; Ou., of Constance; E., abbot of Fulda; Henry, duke; Frederick, duke; S., duke; Bertolf, duke; Margrave Teipold; Margrave Engelbert; Godfrey, count palatine; Otto, count palatine; Berengar, count.

I, Frederick, archbishop of Cologne and archchancellor, have ratified this.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE HOHENSTAUFEN EMPERORS AND THE POPES

I. The German Cities begin to take a Hand in Politics

The German towns first become conspicuous in political affairs in the twelfth century. We find them participating in the struggles of the time, fighting their bishops or neighboring lords, or even the emperor himself. They begin also to have their own annals, in which the local events are given a prominent place.

No German town was more important than Cologne, with its great commerce and its influential archbishop. The following passages from *The Greater Annals of Cologne*, the first part of which was probably written in the form in which we have it about 1175, give a vivid picture of the pride of the burghers and their dubious relations with the emperor.

118. How the people of Cologne fought Emperor Henry V in 1114. (From the *Annals of Cologne.*)

Remembering his dislike for the people of Cologne, the emperor got together a great army of Alemannians and Bavarians and of Saxons, under their duke Lothaire, with the purpose of reducing to shame and insignificance this most flourishing among the cities of France and Germany. He first attempted to take and destroy the fortified town of Deutz, so that by stationing a garrison at this point he could cut off the people of Cologne from receiving anything by water. As soon as the people of Cologne heard of this, they called together under their standard great numbers of their most valiant young men, crossed the

Rhine with a strong force of bowmen, and, drawing themselves up in battle array, awaited the attack of the emperor with stout hearts. When the emperor observed their bravery he took counsel with his followers and determined to draw out the battle until evening, when the enemy, supposing his troops to be worn out, would begin to withdraw and so be the more easily overcome.

In the meanwhile the cavaliers of both sides had a free field and rode against one another as if they were taking part in a spectacle; but when a great cloud of arrows came showering in from the side of the Cologne people the knights of the enemy fell dead or wounded. There was in the emperor's army a corps whose armor was made of horn and so could not be pierced by iron. When these removed their armor, however, in order to get a little air, for it was very hot, they were immediately covered with arrows, and all but six fell on the spot.

When the emperor saw that the enemy did not give way but steadily held its own, he decided that he would yield the field, since the position proved ill chosen, and accordingly retreated that night behind the Wagenburg. The next day he directed his army against Bonn and Jülich, two fortified places belonging to Cologne, and plundered and burned everything within reach.

On his return, Archbishop Frederick, Duke Gottfried of Lorraine, Henry of Zutphen, and Count Theodoric of Are intercepted him with great bravery, but in vain, for some of the most distinguished on their side — Count Gerhard of Jülich and Lambert of Mulenarke — were taken prisoners, and Eberhard of Gandernol, a valorous man, was killed. But when Count Frederick of Westphalia and his brother Henry came up with heavy reënforcements the emperor was forced to give way and barely escaped the pursuing enemy by flight.

For the third time the combatants met in a great engagement on the plain of Andernach, nine miles from Cologne, and here the people of Cologne won the victory, as is their wont. The emperor had under his standard a very strong

force, footmen as well as cavalry, made up of Saxons, Franconians, Alemannians, and Bavarians, as well as valorous knights from Burgundy. He appeared before Andernach with this mighty host, but proposed to fight the battle with the help of his dukes, for he himself took no part, but awaited the outcome of the conflict at a little distance.

Then appeared the ranks of Cologne in battle array, far fewer in number but nowise inferior in bravery, under the leadership of their duke and archbishop, Frederick, and of the former Duke Henry of Lorraine, Count Theodoric of Are, Count Henry of Kessel, and others equally valorous and well versed in war. In the first onset Duke Henry, with a small detachment, rushed upon a far superior mass of the enemy, but was forced to retreat to his camp.

Then amid a frightful din of trumpets both armies, eager for the conflict, set upon each other, and for a long time the struggle remained undecided. At last the chosen youth of Cologne, in a wild rage, resolved either to conquer or die, and began to slash about them with fearful effect, so that the enemy was compelled to flee. Then Count Theodoric, a brave knight to whom the victory was chiefly due, since he had pressed forward with his followers against the enemy like a lion, began a fearful slaughter on all sides.

Many free men of knightly rank were killed or taken prisoners. Duke Bertolf of Carinthia, a faithful adherent of the emperor, was captured and taken in charge by Count Theodoric himself. None of the leaders on the side of Cologne were either killed or captured except Count Henry of Kessel, an excellent man, who, through the turpitude of his followers, fell under the horses' hoofs and perished. He was honorably buried in Cologne near the cathedral of St. Peter.

In describing the events of the year 1187, toward the end of the reign of Frederick Barbarossa, *The Greater Annals of Cologne* report another incident which serves to indicate that no great degree of mutual confidence existed as yet between the city and the emperor.

In the bishopric of Cologne there was fearful apprehension. The rumor had spread that the emperor wished to lead an army through the territory of Cologne, ostensibly to aid the French king, but really with the purpose of surrounding and laying siege to the city. He had already constructed a bridge of boats and planks over the Moselle in order that his troops might cross. Excited by this, the townspeople put the moat in order and set to work to construct new gates. The archbishop supplied his people with guards and provisions and saw to the walls and moats of his various towns.

Rumor in Cologne that Frederick Barbarossa was about to attack the city.

Now the archbishop was not on especially good terms with the emperor, since he seemed rather to incline to the side of the pope, who was hostile to the imperial party; and it was this suspicion of the emperor's disfavor that led the people to accept his rumored plans as true. Nevertheless it is clear that the emperor was not at this time planning to attack Cologne, and consequently he was much irritated when he learned of the excitement and preparations.

On the day of the Assumption he held a diet at Worms and complained, in the presence of the princes, of the conduct of the archbishop of Cologne and the people of that city, who had dared to bar his way through a part of his realm and had circulated such a shameful rumor about him throughout the Roman Empire. In consequence of this he had caused the Rhine to be blocked since the festival of St. James, so that the people of Cologne could not procure the grain and wine which usually reached them by river.

At this time a mighty feud prevailed between Bishop Baldwin of Utrecht and Count Otto of Geldern over Veluwe. Fire and murder raged, and it was said that all this happened with the approbation of the emperor, for during the feud neither of the parties engaged could bear aid to the people of Cologne, nor could any ships pass up the river.

The excellent annals of Liege throw much light on the troubles which were constantly arising between the townspeople and their bishop or the neighboring secular

lords, commonly over matters of feudal dues and feudal dependence.

119. Situation of the towns in the Netherlands. (From Reiner's *Annals of St. James in Liege*, 1203.)

In this year [1203] the burghers of Huy rose against their bishop [of Liege] on account of a certain due which he had claimed in an unjust manner. They took possession of the apparatus for carrying on a siege, which was coming by ship from Namur. The vessel they dragged overland to the market place; they barricaded the entrance and exit to the burg. But soon they repented and all betook themselves to Liege, where they rendered satisfaction barefooted to the bishop in the presence of the clergy and people.

A bitter feud broke out between Duke Henry of Louvain and Count Louis of Los over a certain due paid by the town of St. Trond. This town belonged to the bishop of Metz; he had taken it from the count of Los and given it to the duke. But the people of St. Trond rose in opposition and would not yield to the duke. Now Count Louis of Los proceeded to grant all his towns, namely, Montenaken, Brusthem, Hallut, and all the land he controlled, to [the church of] St. Lambert. He offered all these at the altar of the church as a legal gift before clergy and people, and in the presence of the bishop, Duke Henry of Ardennerland and Count Henry of Moha. He then received the lands again from the hand of the bishop as a fief. The bishop took possession on St. John's day of the aforementioned towns and the lands.

As the harvest approached the duke [of Louvain] summoned his forces and proposed to lay siege to the town of St. Trond. He set up his tent in the village of Landen and remained a week there, destroyed the crops in the region in a manner hard to believe, and assembled a great number of soldiers. The count of Los, however, went to the bishop, whose man he had lately become, and asked his help. He also got together from his own lands and elsewhere heavy reënforcements. The bishop ordered his dependents — knights, burghers, and those of his household — to defend him, and ordered the count to be at a village called Waremme on a

certain day. They all came together accordingly and took their station in the said village. There they awaited the outcome, hoping rather for war than peace. In the meantime negotiations were carried on for a week at a place between Montenaken and Landen, but in spite of the intervention of the clergy, who tried to bring about an adjustment, no peaceful settlement could be reached. At last the count of Namur intervened and effected an armistice, which the others had been unable to arrange.

New troubles in 1212. Liege is taken and plundered.

[During the succeeding years there was no end of disorder, due mainly to feudal complications. Finally, in 1212,] on the 1st of May the burghers of Liege sallied forth to fight Duke Henry of Brabant. But the next day they returned in disorder and fright. The third day the town was invested and immediately taken and pillaged. On the fourth and fifth days the enemy robbed the people of all their gold, silver, and everything in the way of valuables; women and girls were carried off to the enemy's camp and many burghers taken prisoners. On the sixth day the burghers who were left concluded a peace, but a miserable one; on the seventh day the army withdrew from Liege; on the eighth it laid siege to Musal, but did not take the town. Waleffe, on the contrary, was turned over deserted to the duke. A week after Ascension day the army of the duke returned home. The count of Namur demanded some security that the duke would keep the peace, for he feared the duke's power. The bishop kept in hiding with a few followers.

1489.

The next year, however, fortune favored the people of Liege, who under their bishop gained a glorious victory over the duke of Brabant and his army. After a very full account of the affair, our chronicler closes his report of the year with peaceful news of progress.

Reference to coal.

This account of the year must come to an end. But I will first tell of three useful products which we have discovered and which are well worth mentioning. I mean the marl, which is good for enriching the soil; the black earth,

which is much like charcoal and is very useful to smiths and other workers as well as to the poor people for making fires; lastly, lead, which has been found in several places near us.

II. Otto of Freising's Account of the Italian Cities

Otto, bishop of Freising and uncle of Frederick Barbarossa, may be safely assigned the highest rank among the historians of the twelfth century. In writing his great *Chronicle*, or History of the World, he doubtless allowed himself to be too much influenced by Augustine's *City of God* and by the gloomy theory of Augustine's pupil Orosius,[1] who set out to discover all the evil he could in the past; but Otto nevertheless exhibits a good deal of critical ability at times and shows really remarkable philosophical insight in some of his reflections. It would tax the skill of a modern historian better to state the conditions in Italy at the advent of Frederick Barbarossa than does Otto in the passage given below. This is taken from his *Deeds of Frederick*, which he undertook after the completion of his *Chronicle*; but he lived only long enough to present the first four years of his nephew's reign. In response to a request which he sent to the emperor for information in regard to his career, he received a letter which opens as follows:

120. Emperor Frederick's letter to Otto of Freising (1157).

Frederick, by the grace of God Emperor of the Romans and at all times Augmenter of the realm, to his well-beloved Uncle Otto, with his favor and best wishes:

The Chronicle which you have affectionately sent to us and which your Wisdom has compiled, or rather brought out of dark oblivion into luminous harmony, we have received

[1] See above, p. 58.

with extraordinary pleasure: we hope after the fatigues of war to refresh ourselves with it from time to time, and by means of the noble deeds of the emperors rouse ourselves to similar acts of virtue.

As to what we have done since the opening of our reign, that we would gladly state briefly for your information were it not that in comparison with the deeds of earlier times wrought by the famous men of the past, ours seem but shadows of deeds. But since we are aware that your remarkable ability enables you to exalt humble things and to write much about unimportant matters, we consent to narrate in a few words the little that we have done in the Roman Empire during a period of five years. In so doing we rely more upon your flattering presentation than upon any merit of our own.[1] . . .

The extraordinary account of the Italian cities as they existed in the middle of the twelfth century, which Otto of Freising gives, shows that they already exhibited many of the traits which distinguished them in later centuries. Of their bad habits none is more striking than their readiness to call in foreigners to aid them in settling their perpetual broils. Milan, it will be noted, had already begun the career of conquest, which was later to make her one of the most important states of Italy.

121. The towns of Lombardy. (From Otto of Freising's *Deeds of Frederick*.)

[The Lombards after their arrival in Italy] gradually laid aside their fierce barbarian customs and intermarried with the natives. Thus their children have derived from the mothers' race, and from the character of the country and the climate, something of Roman culture and civilization, and retain the elegance and refinement of Latin speech and manner.

Democratic institutions.

In the government of the cities and in the management of civil affairs they also imitate the skill of the ancient

[1] Then follows the emperor's dry summary, in four or five pages, of the previous five years.

Romans. Furthermore they love liberty so well that, to guard against the abuse of power, they choose to be ruled by the authority of consuls rather than by princes. They are divided into three classes, namely, "captains," vavasors, and the people. To prevent the growth of class pride, the consuls are chosen from each class in turn, and, for fear that they may yield to the lust of power, they are changed nearly every year.

Reasons for the wealth and independence of the Lombard towns.

It has come to pass that almost the whole country belongs to the cities, each of which forces the inhabitants of her territory to submit to her sway. One can hardly find, within a wide circuit, a man of rank or importance who does not recognize the authority of his city. . . . In order that there shall be no lack of forces for tyrannizing over their neighbors, the cities stoop to bestow the sword-belt and honorable rank upon youths of inferior station, or even upon laborers in despised and mechanical trades, who, among other peoples, are shunned like the pest by those who follow the higher pursuits. To this practice it is due that they surpass all other cities of the world in riches and power; and the long-continued absence of their ruler across the Alps has further contributed to their independence.

Attitude of the towns toward their emperor.

In one respect they are unmindful of their ancient nobility and betray their barbarian origin; for, although they boast of living under law, they do not obey the law. They rarely or never receive their ruler submissively, although it is their duty to show him willing and respectful obedience. They do not obey the decrees that he issues by virtue of his legal powers, unless they are made to feel his authority by the presence of his great army. Although, in a civilized state, the citizens should submit to law, and only an enemy should be coerced by force, yet they often greet with hostility him whom they ought to receive as their own gracious prince, when he comes to demand his own.

This situation brings double evil on the state. The prince's attention is occupied with gathering together an army to subdue the townsmen, and the citizens, though forced to obey the prince, waste their resources in the struggle. The

fault, in such a case, lies wholly in the insolence of the people; the prince, who has acted under necessity, should be absolved before God and man.

Greatness of Milan.

Among all these cities Milan has become the leading one. . . . It must be regarded as more powerful than any of the others, in the first place, on account of its size and its multitude of brave men, and, secondly, because it has brought the two neighboring cities of Como and Lodi under its sway. Led on by Fortune's smiles, as is the way of this fleeting world, Milan has become so puffed up with pride that she has dared not only to incur the enmity of all her neighbors, but, fearing not even the majesty of the emperor himself, she has recently courted his anger. How this came about I shall presently relate. But first I wish to say something of the prerogatives of the empire.

Collection of the *fodrum*.

There is an ancient custom, which has existed ever since the Roman power devolved upon the Franks and which has been preserved until our own times, that when the kings wish to visit Italy they should send officials of their household ahead to go through the various cities and towns and demand what is due to the royal treasury, called by the inhabitants *fodrum*. The usual result is that when the ruler himself arrives, most of those cities, towns, and castles which have ventured either to refuse to pay the tax altogether, or have paid it only in part, are razed to the ground as a warning to posterity.

The emperor's rights.

Another right which is said to be derived from ancient custom is that when the emperor enters Italy all magistracies and offices are suspended and all things are regulated according to his will and the decisions of men skilled in the law. Even the Italian judges are said to recognize his supreme jurisdiction, to the extent of assigning to him for his own use and that of his army all that he needs of whatsoever the land produces, scarcely excepting the oxen and seed necessary for the cultivation of the land.

The emperor camped for five days, it is said, on the plain of Roncaglia and held an assembly there, to which came princes, consuls, and notables from all the cities. Many

The emperor holds an assembly in the plain of Roncaglia (December, 1154).

matters came up for discussion in consequence of the complaints that were made from this quarter and from that. The bishop of Asti and William, marquis of Monteferrat, — a noble and great man and almost the only baron in Italy that has kept himself independent of the cities, — both made grave complaints of the insolence of the people of Asti, and the marquis complained also of the people of Chieri.

The consuls from Como and Lodi also gave accounts calculated to draw tears of their long-endured sufferings under Milan's oppression, and this in the presence of the consuls from Milan, Obert de Orto and Gerard Niger. The emperor, who wished to visit the region of northern Italy and look into these matters, kept these two consuls with him to conduct him through the Milanese territory and help in the choice of convenient places to camp. There came also to this assembly ambassadors from the Genoese, who had recently returned laden with the spoils of the Saracens from Spain, where they had conquered the well-known cities of Almeria and Lisbon, famed for the manufacture of silk stuffs. They brought to the emperor lions, ostriches, parrots, and other valuable gifts.

Frederick's ire aroused against Milan.

Frederick, wishing, as we have said, to see something of northern Italy, led his troops forth from Roncaglia and set up his camp in the territory of Milan. The Milanese consuls aforementioned led him about, however, through arid regions where provisions were neither to be found nor procured at any price, and the emperor was thereby so angered that he determined to turn his arms against Milan, first ordering the consuls to return home. The whole army, distressed by great floods of rain, was so exasperated by the double discomfort of hunger and bad weather that they did everything in their power to increase the emperor's irritation against the consuls aforesaid. Another thing which contributed not a little to his indignation was the fact that the Milanese not only refused to permit the towns that Milan had destroyed to be rebuilt, but they insulted his noble and upright character by offering him money to bribe him to condone their villany.

III. Struggle over the Throne between Philip and Otto

122. How the rivals, Philip and Otto, were elected. (From the *Annals of Cologne*.)

In the year of our Lord 1198 there arose among the German princes a great feud and a most terrific struggle over the throne. To begin with, the archbishops of Cologne and Treves claimed that the choice of a king belonged of right to them; and after taking counsel at Andernach with Duke Bernhard of Saxony and with other bishops, counts, and many nobles, they gave notice of an assembly to be held in Cologne, on *Oculi* Sunday,[1] to which was also summoned Duke Bertolf of Zähringen, whom they thought of choosing for king.

Evidently no clearly defined college of electors existed at this time.

So few came to the assembly that it was impossible to carry out their plan; at the same time they received news that the eastern margraves, together with Duke Bernhard of Saxony, the archbishop of Magdeburg, and other princes of Upper Germany, had met at Erfurt to choose the new king. Thereupon they sent Bishop Hermann of Münster and other men of note to the assembled princes to beg them not to make any choice in their absence but to meet with them at some place to be agreed upon, in order that they might together choose a worthy emperor and protector of the Church, acceptable to God.

Philip elected by the North German princes.

When the messengers arrived at the assembly, they learned that the princes had already agreed upon Duke Philip, the [late] emperor's brother, and chosen him as king. So they returned, and reported what had happened to their bishops, who were thereby highly incensed, for no king had ever before been chosen in Saxony, nor by these princes. . . . It is, nevertheless, certain that Duke Philip sent messengers to the archbishop of Cologne, offering him much and promising still more if he would ratify his election. This the bishop absolutely refused to do, for he felt that it would be neither safe for him nor honorable; and, after holding

The archbishop of Cologne chooses Otto as emperor.

[1] Namely, March 1st, the day on which a portion of the church service begins with the word *oculi*.

a consultation, he chose as king, Otto the Pious, count of Poitou, son of the late duke Henry [the Lion] of Saxony.[1] . . .

Philip assumes the crown.

Duke Philip, driven by the necessity of strengthening his cause to seek help on every side, succeeded by means of gifts in gaining the support of most of the princes. He made himself master of the royal towns, had all the people do him homage, assumed the title of king, and, on the Sunday after Easter, entered Worms wearing the crown. In Lower Germany, he sought to gain the favor of the nobles of Lorraine, among whom Walrav, son of Duke Henry of Limburg, came over to his side and was invested by him with a royal castle called Berinstein, as a fief. . . .

Otto takes Aix-la-Chapelle and is crowned there.

At Cologne about this time, a star was visible at about the ninth hour,[2] which was considered by all as a good omen for their king who was chosen there three days after the star appeared. Hastening to Aix-la-Chapelle — the royal residence — to be consecrated, he found the city hostile to him and garrisoned with the troops of Duke Philip under the above-mentioned Walrav. He undertook the siege of the town and with great effort and expense brought it to submission. Upon his entry he was consecrated by Archbishop Adolph of Cologne and placed upon the throne.

Even Walrav was taken into his good graces and now received from him, as a fief, and as a token of reconciliation, the same castle of Berinstein with which he had already been invested by Duke Philip. The archbishop, however, who conceived this to be a menace to his territory, conquered and destroyed the castle. Walrav, estranged thereby from King Otto, returned to his allegiance to Duke Philip, and, in all the wretched confusion to which Germany now fell a prey, he was an instigator and leader.

Toward the beginning of October, King Philip got together a very large army and, with the King of Bohemia and his other allies, took up a position on the river Moselle,

[1] Otto had been given Poitou as a fief by his uncle, Richard the Lion-hearted of England.

[2] Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon.

with the intention of moving into Lower Germany and devastating the bishopric of Cologne. King Otto and the archbishop of Cologne also gathered together their adherents and encamped on the opposite bank of the river. The citizens of Cologne came too, in well armed and well manned boats.

Philip's troops devastate the land.

For some time the outcome seemed doubtful for neither side dared to attack the other. Finally, King Philip and his followers took courage and attempted to effect a crossing, while the forces from Lorraine made a stand against them in the river itself. The battle continued until nightfall with varying fortunes. The following morning the Lorrainers retired to their camp, thinking it unwise to measure their own small forces against the innumerable host of the enemy, who immediately crossed the river. They gave the men of Lorraine, who prepared to make a stand at Andernach, no opportunity for an engagement, but laid waste the land far and wide with fire and sword. Remagen and Bonn, with many outlying villages, were burned to the ground, and there was no one to stay the ravages of the enemy, for every one fled before them to the most strongly fortified places.

Atrocities committed by Philip's troops.

The atrocities which they committed in their brutal insolence are too revolting to relate. I will describe but a single case among many, which will furnish some notion of the rest. A nun whom they had stripped of her clothing was covered with honey and rolled in feathers; in this horrible condition she was placed on a horse with her face toward the beast's tail. When they had paraded this ridiculous, or rather, lamentable, spectacle for several days the matter came to King Philip's ears. He, in holy indignation, had all who had taken any part in the affair drowned in boiling water.

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CHAPTER XV

THE CRUSADES

I. Pope Urban's Address at Clermont

We have four reports of Urban's address, which were drawn up by those who were apparently actually present at the Council of Clermont. One of the most interesting of these is that given by Robert the Monk, of Rheims, in the opening chapters of his history of the First Crusade. This was written toward twenty-five years after Urban's visit to France and does not claim to give more than a general idea of the pope's arguments.

123. Urban's speech at Clermont as reported by Robert the Monk.

In the year of our Lord's Incarnation one thousand and ninety-five, a great council was celebrated within the bounds of Gaul, in Auvergne, in the city which is called Clermont. Over this Pope Urban II presided, with the Roman bishops and cardinals. This council was a famous one on account of the concourse of both French and German bishops, and of princes as well. Having arranged the matters relating to the Church, the lord pope went forth into a certain spacious plain, for no building was large enough to hold all the people. The pope then, with sweet and persuasive eloquence, addressed those present in words something like the following, saying:

"Oh, race of Franks, race from across the mountains, race beloved and chosen by God, — as is clear from many of your works, — set apart from all other nations by the situation of your country as well as by your Catholic faith and the honor which you render to the holy Church: to you our

discourse is addressed, and for you our exhortations are intended. We wish you to know what a grievous cause has led us to your country, for it is the imminent peril threatening you and all the faithful which has brought us hither.

"From the confines of Jerusalem and from the city of Constantinople a grievous report has gone forth and has repeatedly been brought to our ears; namely, that a race from the kingdom of the Persians, an accursed race, a race wholly alienated from God, 'a generation that set not their heart aright, and whose spirit was not steadfast with God,' has violently invaded the lands of those Christians and has depopulated them by pillage and fire. They have led away a part of the captives into their own country, and a part they have killed by cruel tortures. They have either destroyed the churches of God or appropriated them for the rites of their own religion. They destroy the altars, after having defiled them with their uncleanness. . . . The kingdom of the Greeks is now dismembered by them and has been deprived of territory so vast in extent that it could not be traversed in two months' time.

"On whom, therefore, is the labor of avenging these wrongs and of recovering this territory incumbent, if not upon you, — you, upon whom, above all other nations, God has conferred remarkable glory in arms, great courage, bodily activity, and strength to humble the heads of those who resist you? Let the deeds of your ancestors encourage you and incite your minds to manly achievements: — the glory and greatness of King Charlemagne, and of his son Louis, and of your other monarchs, who have destroyed the kingdoms of the Turks and have extended the sway of the holy Church over lands previously pagan. Let the holy sepulcher of our Lord and Saviour, which is possessed by the unclean nations, especially arouse you, and the holy places which are now treated with ignominy and irreverently polluted with the filth of the unclean. Oh, most valiant soldiers and descendants of invincible ancestors, do not degenerate, but recall the valor of your progenitors.

The French urged to find an outlet for excessive population.

"But if you are hindered by love of children, parents, or wife, remember what the Lord says in the Gospel, 'He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me.' 'Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life.' Let none of your possessions retain you, nor solicitude for your family affairs. For this land which you inhabit, shut in on all sides by the seas and surrounded by the mountain peaks, is too narrow for your large population; nor does it abound in wealth; and it furnishes scarcely food enough for its cultivators. Hence it is that you murder and devour one another, that you wage war, and that very many among you perish in intestine strife.[1]

"Let hatred therefore depart from among you, let your quarrels end, let wars cease, and let all dissensions and controversies slumber. Enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulcher; wrest that land from the wicked race, and subject it to yourselves. That land which, as the Scripture says, 'floweth with milk and honey' was given by God into the power of the children of Israel. Jerusalem is the center of the earth; the land is fruitful above all others, like another paradise of delights. This spot the Redeemer of mankind has made illustrious by his advent, has beautified by his sojourn, has consecrated by his passion, has redeemed by his death, has glorified by his burial.

[1] Another of those present at the Council of Clermont, Fulcher of Chartres, thus reports this part of Urban's speech: "Let those who have formerly been accustomed to contend wickedly in private warfare against the faithful fight against the infidel, and bring to a victorious end the war which ought already to have been begun. Let those who have hitherto been robbers now become soldiers. Let those who have formerly contended against their brothers and relatives now fight against the barbarians as they ought. Let those who have formerly been mercenaries at low wages now gain eternal rewards. Let those who have been exhausting themselves to the detriment both of body and soul now strive for a twofold reward." See a complete translation of Fulcher's report of Urban's speech in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 2.

"This royal city, however, situated at the center of the earth, is now held captive by the enemies of Christ and is subjected, by those who do not know God, to the worship of the heathen. She seeks, therefore, and desires to be liberated and ceases not to implore you to come to her aid. From you especially she asks succor, because, as we have already said, God has conferred upon you above all other nations great glory in arms. Accordingly, undertake this journey eagerly for the remission of your sins, with the assurance of the reward of imperishable glory in the kingdom of heaven."

When Pope Urban had urbanely said these and very many similar things, he so centered in one purpose the desires of all who were present that all cried out, "It is the will of God! It is the will of God!" When the venerable Roman pontiff heard that, with eyes uplifted to heaven, he gave thanks to God and, commanding silence with his hand, said:

"Most beloved brethren, to-day is manifest in you what the Lord says in the Gospel, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them'; for unless God had been present in your spirits, all of you would not have uttered the same cry; since, although the cry issued from numerous mouths, yet the origin of the cry was one. Therefore I say to you that God, who implanted this in your breasts, has drawn it forth from you. Let that then be your war cry in combats, because it is given to you by God. When an armed attack is made upon the enemy, let this one cry be raised by all the soldiers of God: 'It is the will of God! It is the will of God!' [*Deus vult! Deus vult!*]

"And we neither command nor advise that the old or feeble, or those incapable of bearing arms, undertake this journey. Nor ought women to set out at all without their husbands, or brothers, or legal guardians. For such are more of a hindrance than aid, more of a burden than an advantage. Let the rich aid the needy; and according to their wealth let them take with them experienced soldiers. The priests and other clerks, whether secular or regular,

are not to go without the consent of their bishop; for this journey would profit them nothing if they went without permission. Also, it is not fitting that laymen should enter upon the pilgrimage without the blessing of their priests.

"Whoever, therefore, shall determine upon this holy pilgrimage, and shall make his vow to God to that effect, and shall offer himself to him for sacrifice, as a living victim, holy and acceptable to God, shall wear the sign of the cross of the Lord on his forehead or on his breast. When, indeed, he shall return from his journey, having fulfilled his vow, let him place the cross on his back between his shoulders. Thus shall ye, indeed, by this twofold action, fulfill the precept of the Lord, as he commands in the Gospel, 'He that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.'"

II. The First Crusade

124. Ekkehard of Aurach on the opening of the First Crusade.

Ekkehard, a well-known German historian (see above, p. 266), had completed a history of the world in the year 1101 when he determined to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On his return he entirely rewrote the particulars of his history relating to the First Crusade, and finally issued it as a little separate volume called *Hierosolymita*. His work is regarded by historical scholars as remarkably painstaking and temperate.

After mentioning the capture of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon and his fellow-crusaders in 1099, Ekkehard continues:

Some declare the crusade inexpedient.

Here I am very anxious to add certain details concerning these military undertakings, which are due to divine rather than human inspiration. This I do for the especial purpose of refuting those imprudent — or, better, impudent — critics, who, bound by prejudice, take it upon themselves with insolent lips to blame this novel enterprise, so necessary to a world that is growing old and nearing its end. They, like

the Epicureans, prefer the broad way of pleasure to the narrow way of God's service. To them love of the world is wisdom and those who despise it are fools. . . . I, however, since I trust in the Lord and strive not for present but for future things, would, although only as an idle spectator yet a kindly well-wisher, exalt the glorious men of our time who have overcome the kingdoms of this world and who, for the sake of the blessed Shepherd who sought the hundredth sheep that was lost, have left wife and child, principalities and riches, and have taken their lives in their hands. . . .

The many peoples who took part in the First Crusade.

[After Urban had aroused the spirits of all by the promise of forgiveness to those who undertook the expedition with single-hearted devotion,] toward one hundred thousand men were appointed to the immediate service of God from Aquitaine and Normandy, England, Scotland, Ireland, Brittany, Galicia, Gascony, France, Flanders, Lorraine, and from other Christian peoples, whose names I no longer retain. It was truly an army of "crusaders," for they bore the sign of the cross on their garments as a reminder that they should mortify the flesh, and in the hope that they would in this way triumph over the enemies of the cross of Christ, as it had once come to pass in the case of the great Constantine. Thus, through the marvelous and unexampled working of divine dispensation, all these members of Christ, so different in speech, origin, and nationality, were suddenly brought together as one body through their love of Christ.

While they were all under one king, Christ, the several peoples nevertheless were led by their several leaders, namely Godfrey of Lorraine and his brothers Baldwin and Eustace, Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, Count Regimund of St. Gilles, Hugh, brother of King Philip of France, and other warriors of similar energy, rank, and bravery. Over all of these the above-mentioned pope placed Bishop Hademar, a man of venerable holiness and wisdom. To him the pope granted the right to exercise in his stead the power transmitted by St. Peter to the Roman see of binding and loosing. . . .

The West Franks were easily induced to leave their fields, since France had, during several years, been terribly visited now by civil war, now by famine, and again by sickness. . . . Among the other nations, the common people, as well as those of higher rank, related that, aside from the apostolic summons, they had in some instances been called to the land of promise by certain prophets who had appeared among them, or through heavenly signs and revelations. Others confessed that they had been induced to pledge themselves by some misfortune. A great part of them started forth with wife and child and laden with their entire household equipment.

The Germans at first regard the crusaders as madmen.

The summons, however, failed altogether to reach the East Franks, Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians, and Alemannians. This was due especially to the division between the civil government and the priesthood, which from the time of Pope Alexander [II] to the present day has, alas, made us as hated and offensive to the Romans as the Romans are to us. So it came about that almost the whole German people were, at the beginning of the expedition, quite unacquainted with the reasons for it. Consequently the many legions of horsemen who passed through their land, the hosts of people on foot, the crowds of country people, women and children, were viewed by them with contempt as persons who had altogether lost their wits.

Those bound for the Holy Land seemed to them to be leaving the land of their birth and sacrificing what they already had for a vain hope. The promised land offered no certainty but danger, yet they deserted their own possessions in a greedy struggle for those of others. Nevertheless, although our people are far more arrogant than others, the fury of the Teutons finally gave way in view of the divine mercy, and after they had thoroughly discussed the matter with the multitude of pilgrims, they too inclined their hearts.

Prodigies announce the coming crusade.

Moreover the signs in the sun and the wonders which appeared, both in the air and on the earth, aroused many who had previously been indifferent. It seems to us useful

to interweave an account of a few of these signs, although it would carry us too far to enumerate them all. For example, we beheld a comet on the 7th of October to the south, and its brilliancy slanting down seemed like a sword. . . . A few years ago a priest of honorable reputation, by the name of Suigger, about the ninth hour of the day beheld two knights, who met one another in the air and fought long, until one, who carried a great cross with which he struck the other, finally overcame his enemy. . . . Some who were watching horses in the fields reported that they had seen the image of a city in the air and had observed how various troops from different directions, both on horseback and on foot, were hastening thither.

Many, moreover, displayed, either on their clothing, or upon their forehead, or elsewhere on their body, the sign of the cross, which had been divinely imprinted, and they believed themselves on this account to have been destined to the service of God. Others likewise were induced, through some sudden change of spirit or some nocturnal vision, to sell all their property and possessions and to sew the sign of mortification on their mantles. Among all these people who pressed into the churches in incredible numbers, swords were distributed with the priestly benediction, according to the new usage, along with the pilgrim's staff and wallet.

I may also report that at this time a woman after two years gestation finally gave birth to a boy who was able to talk; and that a child with a double set of limbs, another with two heads, and some lambs with two heads were also born; and that colts came into the world with great teeth, which we ordinarily call horses' teeth and which nature only grants to three-year old horses.

Bad men and women join the crusaders.

While through these and similar signs the whole creation seemed to offer its services to the Creator, the watchful enemy, who takes occasion when others sleep to sow his tares amongst the good seed, raised up also false prophets and mixed false brethren and degraded women among the Lord's host under the appearance of religion. In this way the armies of Christ were defiled not only through hypocrisy

and lies but through shameless uncleanness, so that the prophecy of the Good Shepherd might be fulfilled, that even the elect may be led astray.

125. A Greek princess describes the bad manners of a crusading prince.

Among the sources for the First Crusade there is a history of the eastern emperor, Alexis, written by his daughter, Anna Comnena. After speaking of the kindly but sagacious way in which her father treated the inconvenient and often disorderly troops of crusaders when they reached Constantinople, she gives the following example of their bad manners.

When the Franks had all come together and had taken an oath to the emperor, there was one count who had the boldness to sit down upon the throne. The emperor, well knowing the pride of the Latins, kept silent, but Baldwin approached the Frankish count and taking him by the hand said, "You ought not to sit there; that is an honor which the emperor permits to no one. Now that you are in this country, why do you not observe its customs?" The insolent count made no reply to Baldwin, but said in his barbarous language, as if talking to himself, "This must be a rude fellow who would alone remain seated when so many brave warriors are standing up." Alexis noted the movement of the man's lips and called an interpreter in order to learn what he had said; but when the interpreter had told him he did not complain to the Franks, although he did not forget the matter.

When the counts came to take leave of the emperor he retained this haughty knight and asked him who he was. "I am a Frank," he replied, "of the most high and ancient nobility. I know but one thing, and that is that there is in my country a church built at the crossroads where all those betake themselves who hope to show their valor in single combat, and there make their prayer to God while they await an enemy; I remained there a long time without anybody daring to measure swords with me."

Alexis was on his guard against accepting this challenge. "If you then waited without being able to show your bravery," he said to him, "you now have a chance to fight; and if I may give you a word of advice, it will be not to put yourself either at the head nor rear of the army but in the middle. The experience which I have had of the way in which the Turks make war has convinced me that that is the best place."[1]

III. The Campaigns in the Holy Land as described in the Letters of the Crusaders

The letters written from the Holy Land by those who actually participated in the crusades constitute our most reliable source of information.[2]

126. Stephen, count of Blois, to his wife, Adele (March 29, 1098); before Antioch.

Count Stephen to Adele, his sweetest and most amiable wife, to his dear children, and to all his vassals of all ranks — his greeting and blessing:

You may be very sure, dearest, that the messenger whom I sent to you left me before Antioch safe and unharmed and, through God's grace, in the greatest prosperity. And already at that time, together with all the chosen army of Christ, endowed with great valor by him, we had been continuously advancing for twenty-three weeks toward the home of our Lord Jesus. You may know for certain, my beloved, that of gold, silver, and many other kinds of riches, I now have twice as much as you, my love, supposed me to have when I left you. For all our princes, with the common consent of the whole army, though against my own wishes, have

[1] Anna remarks later in her history with satisfaction that the insolent knight was killed. An eminent scholar believes that he was probably no less a person than Count Robert of Paris. This is but one instance among many which served to arouse hostility between the emperor and the crusaders.

[2] For other letters by the crusaders and a useful list of those which have been translated into English, see Munro, *Letters of the Crusaders written from the Holy Land*, in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 4.

made me, up to the present time, the leader, chief, and director of their whole expedition.

You have assuredly heard that after the capture of the city of Nicæa we fought a great battle with the perfidious Turks and, by God's aid, conquered them. Next we conquered for the Lord all Romania and afterwards Cappadocia. And we learned that there was a certain Turkish prince, Assam, dwelling in Cappadocia; thither we directed our course. All his castles we conquered by force and compelled him to flee to a certain very strong castle situated on a high rock. We also gave the land of that Assam to one of our chiefs, and in order that he might conquer the abovementioned Assam, we left there with him many soldiers of Christ. Thence, continually following the wicked Turks, we drove them through the midst of Armenia, as far as the great river Euphrates. Having left all their baggage and beasts of burden on the bank, they fled across the river into Arabia.

The bolder of the Turkish soldiers, indeed, entering Syria, hastened by forced marches night and day, in order to be able to occupy the royal city of Antioch before our approach. The whole army of God, learning this, gave due praise and thanks to the omnipotent Lord. Hastening with great joy to the aforesaid chief city of Antioch, we besieged it and had many conflicts there with the Turks. Seven times we fought with the citizens of Antioch and with the innumerable troops coming to their aid; we rushed to meet them and we fought with the fiercest courage under the leadership of Christ; and in all these seven battles, by the aid of the Lord God, we conquered, and most assuredly killed an innumerable host of them. In those battles, indeed, and in very many attacks made upon the city, many of our brethren and followers were killed, and their souls were borne to the joys of paradise.

We found Antioch a very great town, fortified with incredible strength and almost impregnable. In addition, more than five thousand bold Turkish soldiers had entered the city, not counting the Saracens, Publicans, Arabs, Turcopolitans, Syrians, Armenians, and other different races, of

whom an infinite multitude had gathered together there. In fighting against these enemies of God and of our own we have, by God's permission, endured many sufferings and innumerable evils up to the present time. Many also have already exhausted all their resources in this very holy passion. Very many of our Franks, indeed, would have met a temporal death from starvation, if the clemency of God, and our money, had not succored them. Moreover before the above-mentioned city of Antioch we suffered for our Lord Christ, throughout the whole winter, from excessive cold and enormous torrents of rain. What some say about the impossibility of bearing the heat of the sun throughout Syria is untrue, for the winter there is very similar to our winter in the west.

When Caspian [Bagi Seian], the emir (i.e. prince and lord) of Antioch, perceived that he was hard pressed by us, he sent his son, Sensadolo by name, to the prince who holds Jerusalem, and to the prince of Calep Rodoam, and to Docap, prince of Damascus. He also sent into Arabia to Bolianuth, and into Carathania to Hamelnuth. These five emirs, with twelve thousand picked Turkish horsemen, suddenly came to aid the inhabitants of Antioch. We, ignorant of all this, had sent many of our soldiers away to the other cities and fortresses;—for there are one hundred and sixty-five cities and fortresses throughout Syria which are in our power. But a little before they reached the city we attacked them, at three leagues distance, with seven hundred soldiers, on a certain plain, near the "Irón Bridge."

God fought for us, his faithful servants, against them; for on that day, fighting in the strength that God gives, we conquered them and killed an innumerable multitude — God continually fighting for us — and we also carried back to the army more than two hundred of their heads, in order that the people might rejoice on that account. The emperor of Babylon also sent Saracen messengers to our army with letters, and through these he established peace and concord with us.

I am glad to tell you, dearest, what happened to us during Lent. The city of Antioch is about five leagues distant

from the sea. Our princes had commanded a fortress to be built before one of the city gates which was between our camp and the sea; for the Turks, issuing daily from this gate, killed some of our men on their way to the sea. For this reason they sent the excellent Bohemond and Raymond, count of St. Gilles, down to the sea, with only sixty horsemen, in order that they might bring mariners to aid in this work. When, however, they were returning to us with those mariners, the Turks collected an army, fell suddenly upon our two leaders, and forced them to a perilous flight. In that unexpected flight we lost more than five hundred of our foot soldiers — to the glory of God. Of our horsemen, however, we lost only two, for certain.

On that same day, ignorant of our brethren's misfortunes, we went out joyfully to meet them. When, however, we approached the above-mentioned gate of the city, a mass of horsemen and foot soldiers from Antioch, elated by the victory which they had won, rushed upon us in the same manner. Seeing these, our leaders sent to the camp of the Christians to order all to be ready to follow us into battle. In the meantime our men gathered together, and the two leaders, namely Bohemond and Raymond, with the remainder of their army, came up and narrated the great misfortune which they had suffered.

Our men, full of fury at these most evil tidings, prepared to die for Christ, and, deeply grieved for their brethren, rushed upon the sacrilegious Turks. They, enemies of God and of us, hastily fled before us and attempted to enter their city. But by God's grace the affair turned out very differently; for, when they attempted to cross a bridge built over the great river Moscholum, we followed them as closely as possible, killed many before they reached the bridge, forced many into the river, all of whom were killled, and we also slew many upon the bridge and very many at the narrow entrance to the gate. I am telling you the truth, my beloved, and you may rely upon it, that in this battle we killed thirty emirs (that is, princes) and three hundred other Turkish nobles, not counting the remaining Turks and pagans. Indeed, the

number of Turks and Saracens killed is reckoned at twelve hundred and thirty, while of our own troops we did not lose a single man.

On the following day (Easter), while my chaplain, Alexander, was writing this letter in great haste, a party of our men, lying in wait for the Turks, fought a successful engagement with them and killed sixty horsemen, whose heads they brought to the army.

I can write to you only a few, dearest, of the many things which we have done. Although I am not able to tell you all that is in my mind, I trust that all is going well with you, and urge you to watch carefully over your possessions and to treat as you ought your children and your vassals. You will certainly see me just as soon as I can possibly return to you. Farewell.

127. Godfrey of Bouillon and his companions write to the pope concerning the progress of the crusade.

To Lord Paschal, Pope of the Roman Church, and to all the Bishops, and to the whole Christian people, Greeting from the Archbishop of Pisa, Duke Godfrey, now, by the grace of God, Defender of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Raymond, Count of St. Gilles, and the whole army of God, which is in the land of Israel:

Multiply your supplications and prayers in the sight of God with joy and thanksgiving, since God has manifested his mercy in fulfilling by our hands what he had promised in ancient times; for after the capture of Nicæa the whole army, made up of more than three hundred thousand soldiers, departed thence. And, although this army was so great that it could in a single day have covered all Romania and drunk up all the rivers and eaten up all the growing things, yet the Lord conducted them amid so great abundance that a ram was sold for a penny and an ox for twelve pence or less. Moreover, although the princes and kings of the Saracens rose up against us, yet, by God's will, they were easily conquered and overcome.

Comfortable passage through Asia Minor.

Because, however, some were puffed up by these successes, God opposed to us Antioch, impregnable to human strength. And there he detained us for nine months and so

Delay at Antioch.

humbled us in the siege that there were scarcely a hundred good horses left in our whole army. God then opened to us the abundance of his blessing and mercy, and led us into the city, and delivered the Turks and all of their possessions into our power.

The finding of the holy lance.

Inasmuch as we thought that these had been acquired by our own strength, and did not worthily magnify God who had done this, we were beset by so great a multitude of Turks that no one dared to venture forth at any point from the city. Moreover hunger so weakened us that some could scarcely refrain from eating human flesh. It would be tedious to narrate all the miseries which we suffered in that city. But God looked down upon his people, whom he had so long chastised, and mercifully consoled them. Therefore, he at first revealed to us, as a recompense for our tribulation and as a pledge of victory, his lance, which had lain hidden since the days of the apostles.[1] Next, he so fortified the hearts of the men that they who from sickness or hunger had been unable to walk, now were indued with strength to seize their weapons and manfully to fight against the enemy.

After we had triumphed over the enemy, as our army was wasting away at Antioch from sickness and weariness and was especially hindered by the dissensions among the leaders, we proceeded into Syria, stormed Barra and Marra, cities of the Saracens, and captured the fortresses in that country. And while we were delaying there, there was so great a famine in the army that the Christian people now ate the putrid bodies of the Saracens. Finally, by the divine admonition, we entered into the interior of Hispania,[2] and the most bountiful, merciful, and victorious hand of the omnipotent Father was with us; for the cities and fortresses of the country through which we were proceeding

[1] The holy lance with which the Roman soldier is reported to have pierced Christ's side.

[2] A region on the right bank of the Orontes which stretches toward the east.

sent ambassadors to us with many gifts and offered to aid us and to surrender their walled places.

The crusaders advance upon Jerusalem.

But because our army was not large and it was the unanimous wish to hasten on to Jerusalem, we accepted their pledges and made them tributaries. One of the cities forsooth, which was on the seacoast, had more men than there were in our whole army. And when those at Antioch and Laodicea and Archas heard how the hand of the Lord was with us, many from the army who had remained in those cities followed us to Tyre. Therefore, with the Lord's companionship and aid, we proceeded thus as far as Jerusalem.

And after the army had suffered greatly in the siege, especially on account of the lack of water, a council was held, and the bishops and princes ordered that all should march around the walls of the city with feet bare, in order that he who entered it humbly in our behalf might be moved by our humility to open it to us and to exercise judgment upon his enemies.

Capture of Jerusalem.

God was appeased by this humility, and on the eighth day after the humiliation he delivered the city and his enemies to us. It was the very day, indeed, on which the primitive Church was driven thence and on which the festival of the Dispersion of the Apostles is celebrated. And if you desire to know what was done with the enemy who were found there, know that in Solomon's Porch and in his temple our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses.

Crusaders attacked by troops from Egypt.

Then when we were considering who ought to hold the city, and some, moved by love for their country and kinsmen, wished to return home, it was announced to us that the king of Babylon[1] had come to Ascalon with an innumerable multitude of soldiers. His purpose was, as he said, to lead the Franks who were in Jerusalem into captivity, and to take Antioch by storm. But God had determined otherwise in regard to us.

[1] An important city of Egypt at that time.

Therefore, when we learned that the army of the Babylonians was at Ascalon, we went down to meet them, leaving our baggage and the sick, with a garrison, in Jerusalem. When our army was in sight of the enemy, we invoked upon our knees the aid of the Lord, that he who in our other adversities had strengthened the Christian faith, might in the present battle break the strength of the Saracens and of the devil, and extend the kingdom of the Church of Christ from sea to sea, over the whole world. There was no delay; God was present when we cried for his aid, and indued us with so great boldness that one who saw us rush upon the enemy would have taken us for a herd of deer, hastening to quench their thirst in running water.

The king of Babylon defeated.

It was indeed wonderful, since there were in our army not more than five thousand horsemen and fifteen thousand foot soldiers, and there were probably in the enemy's army one hundred thousand horsemen and four hundred thousand foot soldiers. Then God appeared most marvelous to his servants. For before we engaged in fighting, by our very onset alone, he turned this multitude in flight and scattered all their weapons, so that if they wished afterward to attack us they did not have the arms in which they trusted.

There can be no question as to the greatness of the spoils, since the treasures of the king of Babylon were captured. More than one hundred thousand Moors perished there by the sword. Moreover their panic was so great that about two thousand were suffocated at the gate of the city. Those who perished in the sea were innumerable. Many were entangled in the thickets. The whole world was certainly fighting for us, and if many of our men had not been detained in plundering the camp, few of the great multitude of the enemy would have been able to escape from the battle.

Coöperation on the part of the captured animals.

And although it may be tedious, the following must not be omitted. On the day preceding the battle the army captured many thousands of camels, oxen, and sheep. By the command of the princes these were divided among the people. When we advanced to battle, wonderful to relate, the

camels formed in many squadrons, and the sheep and oxen did the same. Moreover these animals accompanied us, halting when we halted, advancing when we advanced, and charging when we charged. The clouds sheltered us from the heat of the sun and cooled us.

Accordingly, after celebrating the victory, the army returned to Jerusalem. Duke Godfrey remained there; the count of St. Gilles, Robert, count of Normandy, and Robert, count of Flanders, returned to Laodicea. There they found the fleet belonging to the Pisans and to Bohemond. After the archbishop of Pisa had established peace between Bohemond and our leaders, Raymond prepared to return to Jerusalem for the sake of God and his brethren.

Therefore, we call upon you of the Catholic Church of Christ and of the whole Latin Church to exult in the admirable bravery and devotion of your brethren, in the glorious and desirable retribution of the omnipotent God, and in the devoutly hoped-for remission of all our sins through the grace of God. And we pray that he may make you — namely, all bishops, clergy, and monks who are leading devout lives, and all the laity — to sit down at the right hand of God, who liveth and reigneth, God for ever and ever.

And we ask and beseech you, in the name of our Lord Jesus, who has ever been with us and aided us and freed us from all our tribulations, to be mindful of your brethren who return to you, by doing them kindnesses and by paying their debts, in order that God may recompense you and absolve you from all your sins and grant you a share in all the blessings which either we or they have deserved in the sight of the Lord. Amen.

IV. St. Bernard and the Second Crusade

St. Bernard was induced to use his unrivaled influence in promoting a new crusade in 1146. The following letter indicates his attitude toward the enterprise:

128. St. Bernard exhorts the people to take arms against the infidel.

To the Lords and very dear Fathers, the Archbishops and Bishops, with the whole Clergy and the faithful people of Eastern France and Bavaria: Bernard, called Abbot of Clairvaux, desires that they may abound in the spirit of strength:

I write to you with respect to a matter which concerns the service of Christ, in whom is our salvation. This I say in order that the Lord's authority may excuse the unworthiness of the person who speaks; let the consideration of its usefulness to yourselves also excuse the faults of my address. I, indeed, am of small account; but I have no small love for you all, in the bowels of Jesus Christ. This, now, is my reason for writing to you, that I may thus approach you as a whole. I would rather do so by word of mouth, if the opportunity, as well as the will, were afforded me.

Behold, brethren, now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation. The earth also is moved and has trembled, because the God of heaven has begun to destroy the land which is his: his, I say, in which the word of the Father was taught, and where he dwelt for more than thirty years, a man among men; his, for he enlightened it with miracles, he consecrated it with his own blood; in it appeared the first fruits of his resurrection. And now, for our sins, the enemies of the Cross have raised blaspheming heads, ravaging with the edge of the sword the land of promise. For they are almost on the point, if there be not One to withstand them, of bursting into the very city of the living God, of overturning the sanctuaries of our redemption, of polluting the holy places of the spotless Lamb with purple blood. Alas! they rage against the very shrine of the Christian faith with blasphemous mouths, and would enter and trample down the very couch on which, for us, our Life lay down to sleep in death.

What are you going to do then, O brave men? What are you doing, O servants of the Cross? Will you give what is holy to the dogs, and cast your pearls before swine? How many sinners there, confessing their sins with tears, have

obtained pardon, after the defilement of the heathen had been purged by the swords of your fathers! The wicked man sees and is grieved; he gnashes with his teeth, and consumes away. He prepares the instruments of sin, and will leave no sign or trace of so great piety, if ever (which God forbid!) he gain possession of this holiest of holy places. Verily that would be an irremediable grief to all time, an irrecoverable loss, a vast disgrace to this most graceless generation, and an everlasting shame.

What are we then to think, brethren? Is the Lord's arm shortened so that it cannot save, because he calls his weak creatures to guard and restore his heritage? Can he not send more than twelve legions of angels, or merely speak the word, and the land shall be set free? It is altogether in his power to effect what he wishes; but I tell you, the Lord, your God, is trying you. He looks upon the sons of men to see if there be any to understand, and seek, and bewail his error. For the Lord hath pity upon his people, and provides a sure remedy for those that are afflicted.

Character of the crusaders.

Think what care he uses for your salvation, and wonder. Behold the abyss of his love, and trust him, O ye sinners. He wills not your death, but that you may turn and live; for now he seeks occasion, not against you, but for your benefit. What opportunity of salvation has God not tried and sought out, when the Almighty deigns to summon to his service murderers, robbers, adulterers, perjurers, and those guilty of other crimes, as if they were a people that dealt righteously? Doubt him not, O sinners; God is kind. If he willed to punish you, he not only would not seek your service, but would not accept it when offered.

Again I say, weigh the riches of the goodness of the Highest God; hear his plan of mercy. He makes, or feigns, a need for himself, while he desires to help you in your necessity. He wills to be held a debtor, that he may give pay to those that fight for him, pardon of sins, and everlasting glory. Therefore I may call it a highly favored generation which has happened upon a time so full of indulgence; upon which has come that acceptable year of the Lord, a

very jubilee; for this blessing is spread over the whole world, and all fly eagerly to the sign of life.

Neighborhood war.

Since, therefore, your land is fruitful in brave men, and is known to be full of robust youth, since your praise is in the whole world, and the fame of your valor has filled the entire earth, gird up your loins manfully, and take up arms in zeal for the Christian name. Let not your former warlike skill cease, but only that spirit of hatred in which you are accustomed to strike down and kill one another and in turn be overcome yourselves. How dire a madness goads those wretched men, when kinsmen strike each other's bodies with the sword, perchance causing the soul also to perish! But he does not escape who triumphs; the sword shall go through his own soul also, when he thinks to have slain his enemy only. To enter such a combat is madness, not valor: it is not to be ascribed to bravery, but rather to foolishness.

But now, O brave knight, now, O warlike hero, here is a battle you may fight without danger, where it is glory to conquer and gain to die. If you are a prudent merchant, if you are a desirer of this world, behold I show you some great bargains; see that you lose them not. Take the sign of the cross, and you shall gain pardon for every sin that you confess with a contrite heart. The material itself, being bought, is worth little; but if it be placed on a devout shoulder, it is, without doubt, worth no less than the kingdom of God. Therefore they have done well who have already taken the heavenly sign: well and wisely also will the rest do, if they hasten to lay upon their shoulders, like the first, the sign of salvation.

Why the Jews are not to be attacked.

Besides, brethren, I warn you, and not only I, but God's apostle, "Believe not every spirit." We have heard and rejoice that the zeal of God abounds in you, but it behooves no mind to be wanting in wisdom. The Jews must not be persecuted, slaughtered, nor even driven out. Inquire of the pages of Holy Writ. I know what is written in the Psalms as prophecy about the Jews. "God hath commanded me," says the Church, 'Slay them not, lest my people forget.'"

They are living signs to us, representing the Lord's passion. For this reason they are dispersed into all regions, that now they may pay the just penalty of so great a crime, and that they may be witnesses of our redemption. Wherefore the Church, speaking in the same Psalm, says, "Scatter them by thy power; and bring them down, O Lord, our shield." So has it been. They have been dispersed, cast down. They undergo a hard captivity under Christian princes. Yet they shall be converted at even-time, and remembrance of them shall be made in due season. Finally, when the multitude of the Gentiles shall have entered in, then "all Israel shall be saved," saith the apostle. Meanwhile he who dies remains in death.

Christians practice usury.

I do not enlarge on the lamentable fact that where there are no Jews there Christian men *judaize* even worse than they in extorting usury, — if, indeed, we may call them Christians and not rather baptized Jews. Moreover, if the Jews be utterly trampled down, how shall the promised salvation or conversion profit them in the end? . . .

This also we must warn you, dearest brethren, that if any love to bear rule among you, and wish, by hastening, to anticipate the army of his country, he shall by no means attempt to do it. If he pretend to have been sent by us, it is not true; or if he show letters as if given by us, I warn you that they are altogether false or obtained by fraud. It is necessary to choose warlike and skillful leaders, and for the army of the Lord to set out together, that it may have strength everywhere, and not be liable to sustain injury from any.

Reference to the destruction of Peter the Hermit's horde of followers.

There was in the former expedition, before Jerusalem was taken, a certain man, Peter by name, of whom (if I mistake not) you have often heard mention. He went alone, at the head of a mass of people who had intrusted themselves to his care, and led them into so great dangers that none, or at least very few, escaped death, either by hunger or the sword. So there is danger lest, if you do likewise, the same fate should overtake you also, which may God, who is forever blessed, avert from you. Amen.

St. Bernard's secretary, Geoffrey of Clairvaux, who wrote a life of his revered master, thus defends him from the criticisms of those who would blame him for the sad outcome of the Second Crusade:

129. St. Bernard blamed because of the disastrous outcome of the crusade.

We ought not to conceal the fact that certain men, through ignorance or malignity, took offense because Bernard had by his preaching stimulated the expedition for the deliverance of Jerusalem, which had such an unfortunate issue. Nevertheless we can confidently affirm that he was not the first mover in the matter. Even after the report of the unfortunate situation had already deeply stirred the souls of many, and he had been repeatedly urged by the king of France, and had also been pressed by apostolic letters, he still refused to speak or to give his advice in the matter until the sovereign pontiff himself, in a general letter to all the faithful, had commanded him, as the natural interpreter of the Roman Church, to set forth to the peoples and their rulers the necessity of the crusade. The tenor of this letter was that both people and princes should, for the purpose of penance and the remission of their sins, betake themselves to Jerusalem, where they would either deliver their brethren or sacrifice their lives for them.

That St. Bernard was preaching the word of God is proved by many miracles.

Bernard accordingly preached the expedition in the most convincing manner, with the aid of the Lord, who confirmed the truth of his servant's words by miracles. So many were the miracles, and so great, that it would be difficult to enumerate, still more to narrate, them. At one time an effort was made to write them out, but the number of the prodigies to report exceeded the strength of the writer, and the grandeur of the subject, the faculties of him who had undertaken to treat it.

In short, as many as twenty sick folk, and even more, were cured of divers ills in a single day, and hardly a day passed that similar miracles were not performed. In a word, at this time Christ permitted his servant, by his touch and his prayers, to restore sight to men who had been blind from their birth,

to cause the lame to walk, to cure the paralytic, to make the deaf to hear and the dumb to speak. All these were restored to a perfection of health truly remarkable in view of that which they had previously enjoyed.

The eastern church was not, it is true, granted the happiness of being delivered by the expedition of which we are speaking; but at least the heavenly Church was filled thereby with pious souls and may therefore rightly rejoice. If, on this occasion, it pleased the Lord, instead of saving the bodies of the eastern people from the pagans, to snatch the souls of many of the western from sin, who shall say, "Wherefore, Lord, dost thou so?" . .

St. Bernard is permitted to cure a blind child as a proof of the propriety of preaching the crusade.

It happened that at the moment when the first news of the lamentable rout of the crusaders' army reached France a father came to present his blind son to the servant of God, that the boy's sight might be restored. After he had succeeded, by many prayers, in overcoming the reluctance of Bernard, the saint, laying his hands upon the child, addressed the Lord, saying that, if it were truly his word that Bernard had spread abroad when he preached the crusade, and if the Holy Spirit had really inspired him when he preached, the Most High might deign to prove this by opening to the light the eyes of this blind child. While after this prayer they awaited the outcome, the child cried out, "And what shall I do now, for I can see?" Immediately a great stir arose among those present, including not only a great number of monks but secular persons also, who, realizing that the little child could see, were greatly consoled and rendered thanks to God.

V. A Holy Pilgrim

Along with the soldiers whom Urban and St. Bernard urged to direct their warlike energies against the Mohammedans instead of making trouble at home, thousands of pious pilgrims were constantly seeking the Holy Land in a spirit of single-minded devotion. Such

pilgrimages as that described below had begun long before the crusades[1] and continued long after the military expeditions ceased.

130. The pilgrimage of Udalrich to Jerusalem.

The holy Udalrich, having spent some time at home, began to be oppressed in soul lest the duties imposed upon him by his uncle[2] were not sufficiently pleasing to God. Wishing, therefore, to be free and entirely unhampered in order to make a pilgrimage for Christ's sake, he gave up his benefices and started for Jerusalem. He took with him his servant, who was at the same time his almoner, and a single horse.

From the day he left Freising until he entered Jerusalem he never mounted his horse until he had repeated the Psalter from beginning to end, in the meanwhile ordering Martin, his servant, to ride, and meditating long, perchance, by the way.

When at last this saintly man reached the holy places, it is not possible to relate with what emotion he greeted the memorials of the birth, passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, with what genuflections he adored them, and with what floods of tears he watered them. The simple strength of his prayer and supplication exceeds the power of words. He literally fulfilled the utterances of the Psalmist: "I am weary with my groaning; all the night make I my bed to swim; I water my couch with my tears." His companions were filled with astonishment, and as for himself, he lost his eyesight before his time, as will appear later.

God had given him outpourings from above and from below, that is, compunction due not only to his love of the celestial kingdom, but springing also from his apprehension of the torments of hell; — but perfect love casteth out fear. At last, asked by one of his associates why he bemoaned himself so long every night and permitted no one about him to sleep, and why he did not spare his failing eyes, he replied that he was tired of the long pilgrimage in this world, that he longed to die and be with Christ, nor was he troubled over the failing light.

[1] See, for example, that spoken of above, p. 267.

[2] The bishop of Freising, who had given him certain benefices.

VI. Inducements offered to those who would take the Cross

There is no more extraordinary example of the vast power enjoyed by the pope in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries than the privileges granted to those who enlisted in the struggle against the infidel.

131. Privileges granted to the crusaders by Pope Eugenius III (1146).

Moreover, in virtue of the authority vested by God in us, we, who with paternal care provide for your safety and the needs of the Church, have promised and granted to those who from a spirit of devotion have resolved to enter upon and accomplish this holy and necessary undertaking, that full remission of sins which our predecessor, Pope Urban, granted. We have also commanded that their wives and children, their property and possessions, shall be under the protection of the holy Church, of ourselves, of the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the Church of God. Moreover we ordain, by our apostolic authority, that until their return or death is fully proven, no lawsuit shall be instituted hereafter in regard to any property of which they were in peaceful possession when they took the cross.

Those who with pure hearts enter upon this sacred journey, and who are in debt, shall pay no interest. And if they, or others for them, are bound by oath or promise to pay interest, we free them by our apostolic authority. And after they have sought aid of their relatives, or of the lords of whom they hold their fiefs, if the latter are unable or unwilling to advance them money, we allow them freely to mortgage their lands and other possessions to churches, ecclesiastics, or other Christians, and their lords shall have no redress.

Following the example of our predecessor, and through the authority of omnipotent God and of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, which is vested in us by God, we grant absolution and remission of sins, so that those who devoutly undertake and accomplish this holy journey, or who die by the

way, shall obtain absolution for all their sins which they confess with humble and contrite heart, and shall receive from him who grants to each his due reward the prize of eternal life.

Granted at Vetralle on the Kalends of December [1146].

132. Privileges granted by Innocent III at the council of the Lateran (1215).

In order that nothing relating to Christ's business may be neglected, we wish and command patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and others who have charge of souls, to set forth zealously to those committed to their care the word of the cross, exhorting in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, — the one only true and eternal God, — kings, dukes, princes, marquises, counts, barons, and other magnates, also the communities of cities, towns, and villages, who do not go in person to the aid of the Holy Land, to send a suitable number of warriors, with the necessary expenses for three years according to their individual means, for the remission of their own sins, — all which is stated in our general letters, and is also stated below, for the greater surety.

Of this remission we wish that not only those who furnish their own vessels should be partakers, but also those who may have striven to build ships for this purpose. Moreover let it be sternly announced by apostolic authority to those who refuse — if perchance any shall be so ungrateful to our Lord God — that they are to understand that for this they will have to answer to us on the last day of strict judgment before an awful judge. Nevertheless let them first consider with what conscience or what security they will be able to appear before the only begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, into whose hands the Father gave all things, if they shall refuse in this matter, which is peculiarly fitting for them, to aid him who was crucified for sinners, by whose bounty they live, by whose kindness they are maintained, — nay, more, by whose blood they have been redeemed.

Crusaders to be exempted from taxation.

Since it is certainly right that those who give their allegiance to the heavenly Emperor should enjoy a special privilege, when the time of the expedition shall exceed one year in length the crusaders shall be free from collections,

tallages, and other taxes. And we have taken their persons and property, after the assumption of the cross, under St. Peter's and our own protection, and we have decided that their defense shall be intrusted to the archbishops, bishops, and all the prelates of the Church. We have also appointed officers of our own especially for their protection, in order that their property may be kept intact and uninjured until their death or return is known with certainty. And if anyone attempts any attack upon their property, he shall be restrained by ecclesiastical censure.

They are freed from the payment of interest.

If any of those setting out thither are bound by oath to pay interest, we command that their creditors shall be compelled by the same means to release them from their oaths and to desist from the exaction of interest. But if any creditor shall compel them to pay interest, we order that he shall be forced, by a similar chastisement, to pay it back.

Jews to be forced to reduce debts owed them by crusaders.

We command that the Jews, however, shall be compelled by the secular power to remit interest; and until they remit it all faithful Christians shall, under penalty of excommunication, refrain from every species of intercourse with them. For those, moreover, who are unable at present to pay their debts to the Jews, the secular princes shall provide by a useful delay, so that after they begin their journey they shall suffer no inconvenience from interest, until their death or return is known with certainty. The Jews shall be compelled, after deducting the necessary expenses, to count the income which they receive in the meantime from the mortgaged property toward the payment of the principal; since a favor of this kind, which defers the payment and does not cancel the debt, does not seem to cause much loss. Moreover let the prelates of the Church who are proven to be negligent in doing justice to the crusaders and their families, understand that they shall be severely punished.

Mediæval political economy.

Indulgences granted to crusaders and those who aid them.

Therefore, trusting in the mercy of omnipotent God and in the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, by that power of binding and loosing which God has conferred on us, although unworthy, we grant to all who undergo the difficulties in their own person and at their own expense,

full remission of the sins of which they have truly repented with contrite hearts and which they have confessed with their mouths; and at the retribution of the just we promise an increase of eternal salvation. To those also who do not go thither in person but yet, according to their ability and means, send suitable men at their expense, and to those likewise who go in person, although at the expense of others, we promise full remission of their sins. We also will and grant that, according to the kind of their aid and the depth of their devotion, all shall partake of this remission who minister fitly from their property to the aid of that land, or furnish opportune counsel and assistance. Also on all who piously proceed in this task, this general council bestows in common the aid of all its benefits, that it may worthily conduce to their salvation. Amen.

VII. A Glimpse of the Court of the Eastern Emperor

When the crusaders reached Constantinople they saw about them evidences of an elaborate civilization, of which they could have had little conception in their dreary and uncomfortable castles. It is, no doubt, in the general broadening effects of travel that the chief influence of the crusades on the western peoples is to be found. A hundred and fifty years before the First Crusade, when western Europe was still in the midst of the gloomiest period of the early Middle Ages, Liutprand, the historian of Otto the Great, visited Constantinople. He gives the following account of his reception as ambassador of Berengar, king of Italy.[1]

133. Liutprand's account of his reception in Constantinople (949).

Adjoining the imperial palace in Constantinople there is a hall of extraordinary size and beauty. . . . The Emperor Constantine [VII] had this hall arranged in the following manner for the reception of the recently arrived Spanish

[1] See above, pp. 255 *sq.*

ambassador, as well as of Liutfrid [ambassador of Otto I] and myself. In front of the emperor's throne stood a tree of gilded iron, whose branches were filled with birds of various kinds, made of iron and gilded, which gave forth the different sorts of birds' notes. The throne itself was so cunningly constructed that at one instant it looked low, the next, higher, and a moment later had risen to a great elevation. It was guarded on either side by huge lions, I know not whether of metal or wood, but covered with gold, which lashed their tails on the floor and, with open mouth and moving tongue, roared aloud.

In this hall, and accompanied by two eunuchs, I was brought before the emperor. At my entrance the lions roared and the birds sang, each after his kind; but I was neither frightened nor even astonished, since I had taken pains to learn beforehand about these things from those who knew about them. When I raised my head, after prostrating myself before the emperor for the third time, I beheld him, whom before I had seen seated at a moderate height above me, elevated almost to the roof of the hall and clad in different garments. How this was managed I do not know, unless by means of something like the screw of a press. All this time the emperor spoke no word; indeed, even had he wished to do so, it would have been undignified from so great a height. He inquired, however, through his chamberlain, after Berengar's health and pursuits. After I had replied in a fitting manner I retired, at a sign from the interpreter, and was conducted to the inn where quarters had been assigned me.

[Liutprand then tells of his humiliation on discovering that the other ambassadors had brought costly gifts to the emperor from their masters, while the parsimonious Berengar had sent nothing but a letter, "and that full of lies!" So he determined to give the emperor the presents which his step-father had sent, as if they had been sent by the Italian king, "piecing out the small gift as well as I could with fine words."]

This plan having accordingly been carried out, the emperor, at the end of three days, sent for me to come to the palace,

conversed with me with his own mouth, invited me to dine with him, and, after the meal, honored me and my following with appropriate gifts. . . .

In a hall of extraordinary height and magnificence nineteen tables are spread on the anniversary of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ; around these the emperor and his guests, instead of sitting as usual, recline to eat. On this day, moreover, only golden dishes are used instead of the usual silver ones. After dinner fruit was served in three golden vessels of such enormous weight that they could not be carried by men but were brought in on little carts decked with purple coverings. They were placed on the table in the following manner. Through openings in the ceiling three ropes of gilded leather were let down, on the ends of which were fastened golden rings; these were attached to hooks rising from the golden vessels, which were then lifted on to the table by means of a windlass above the ceiling, while four or more men lent their aid from below. Later they were removed in the same way.

It would take too long to describe all the performances which followed, but I must mention one of them, for it was quite too wonderful. There was a man who carried on his forehead, without touching it with his hands, a pole at least twenty-four feet long, on which, an ell from the top, a cross-piece two ells long was fastened. Then two little boys, naked except for loin cloths, were brought in. They climbed up the pole, performed all sorts of gymnastic feats upon it, and came down again, headforemost, without the pole moving any more than if it had been rooted in the ground.

Then after one boy had climbed down, the other one stayed up alone and went through his tricks, which threw me into still greater astonishment. For as long as they both were performing on the pole the thing seemed, after a fashion, explicable, since by their equal weight, though to be sure with marvelous skill, they had kept the pole perpendicular. That one by himself, however, should be able to preserve the equilibrium so as to perform his antics and come down again unhurt, — this threw me into such a state of wonder that

my amazement attracted the attention of the emperor. He called an interpreter and had him ask me which I admired the more, the boy, who had managed his movements with such care as to leave the pole unmoved; or the man, who had held it so skillfully on his forehead that neither the boy's weight nor his movements had caused the pole to swerve one whit from its position. And when I said I knew not which *thaumastoteron* (i.e. "was most to be admired"), the emperor laughed and said that he did not know either.

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The best account of the sources for the opening of the crusades will be found in SYBEL, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 2d ed., 1881.

Recueil des historiens des croisades.

By far the most comprehensive collection of the sources themselves is that issued under the auspices of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, called *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, in fourteen ponderous but magnificently printed folio volumes, 1841–1898. Five volumes are devoted to the western writers, two to the Greek historians, five to the Arabian, two to the laws of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and one to Armenian documents. The Greek text is accompanied by a Latin translation, and the Arabic and Armenian material is translated into French.

GUIZOT, *Collection des Mémoires* (see above, p. 220), contains some of the most celebrated writers: FULCHER OF CHARTRES, who went on the First Crusade and kept a diary; ROBERT THE MONK (see above, p. 312); WILLIAM OF TYRE, — the earlier part of whose work is now discredited; and, for the later period, JACQUES DE VITRY.

CHAPTER XVI

THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH AT ITS HEIGHT

I. The Preëminence of the Church

The most celebrated assertion of the supreme authority of the Church and of its head, the pope, is the bull *Unam Sanctam,* issued by Boniface VIII in 1302.

134. Bull *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII (1302).

That there is one holy Catholic and apostolic Church we are impelled by our faith to believe and to hold — this we do firmly believe and openly confess — and outside of this there is neither salvation nor remission of sins, as the bridegroom proclaims in Canticles, "My dove, my undefiled is but one; she is the only one of her mother, she is the choice one of her that bare her." The Church represents one mystic body, and of this body Christ is the head; of Christ, indeed, God is the head. In it is one Lord, and one faith, and one baptism. In the time of the flood there was one ark of Noah, prefiguring the one Church, finished in one cubit, having one Noah as steersman and commander. Outside of this all things upon the face of the earth were, as we read, destroyed. This Church we venerate and this alone. . . . It is that seamless coat of the Lord, which was not rent but fell by lot. Therefore, in this one and only Church there is one body and one head, — not two heads as if it were a monster, — namely, Christ and Christ's vicar, Peter and Peter's successor; for the Lord said to Peter himself, "Feed my sheep." "*My* sheep," he said, using a general term and not designating these or those sheep, so that we must believe that all the sheep were committed to him. If, then, the Greeks, or others, shall say that they were not intrusted to Peter and his successors, they must perforce admit that they

are not of Christ's sheep, as the Lord says in John, "there is one fold, and one shepherd."

In this Church and in its power are two swords, to wit, a spiritual and a temporal, and this we are taught by the words of the Gospel; for when the apostles said, "Behold, here are two swords" (in the Church, namely, since the apostles were speaking), the Lord did not reply that it was too many, but enough. And surely he who claims that the temporal sword is not in the power of Peter has but ill understood the word of our Lord when he said, "Put up again thy sword into his place." Both the spiritual and the material swords, therefore, are in the power of the Church, the latter indeed to be used for the Church, the former by the Church, the one by the priest, the other by the hand of kings and soldiers, but by the will and sufferance of the priest.

It is fitting, moreover, that one sword should be under the other, and the temporal authority subject to the spiritual power. For when the apostle said, "there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God," they would not be ordained unless one sword were under the other, and one, as inferior, was brought back by the other to the highest place. For, according to St. Dionysius, the law of divinity is to lead the lowest through the intermediate to the highest. Therefore, according to the law of the universe, things are not reduced to order directly and upon the same footing, but the lowest through the intermediate, and the inferior through the superior. It behooves us, therefore, the more freely to confess that the spiritual power excels in dignity and nobility any form whatsoever of earthly power, as spiritual interests exceed the temporal in importance. All this we see fairly from the giving of tithes, from the benediction and sanctification, from the recognition of this power and the control of these same things.

Hence, the truth bearing witness, it is for the spiritual power to establish the earthly power and judge it, if it be not good. Thus, in the case of the Church and the power of the Church, the prophecy of Jeremiah is fulfilled: "See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the

kingdoms," etc. Therefore, if the earthly power shall err, it shall be judged by the spiritual power; if the lesser spiritual power err, it shall be judged by the higher. But if the supreme power err, it can be judged by God alone and not by man, the apostles bearing witness, saying, The spiritual man judges all things, but he himself is judged by no one. Hence this power, although given to man and exercised by man, is not human, but rather a divine power, given by the divine lips to Peter, and founded on a rock for him and his successors in him (Christ) whom he confessed, the Lord saying to Peter himself, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind," etc.

Whoever, therefore, shall resist this power, ordained by God, resists the ordination of God, unless there should be two beginnings [i.e. principles], as the Manichæan imagines. But this we judge to be false and heretical, since, by the testimony of Moses, not in the *beginnings* but in the *beginning*, God created the heaven and the earth. We, moreover, proclaim, declare, and pronounce that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human being to be subject to the Roman pontiff.[1]

Given at the Lateran the twelfth day before the Kalends of December, in our eighth year, as a perpetual memorial of this matter.

II. The Seven Sacraments

135. An account of the seven sacraments, written for the Armenians by Pope Eugene IV (1438).

We have drawn up in the briefest form a statement of the truth concerning the seven sacraments, so that the Armenians, now and in future generations, may more easily be instructed therein.

[1] This famous concluding sentence has often been interpreted as a comprehensive claim on the part of the popes to the civil and political headship of the world. Leo X, however, early in the sixteenth century, declared that "every human being" simply meant "all Christian believers." Thus construed, the proposition loses its political significance and becomes a universally accepted belief among all orthodox Roman Catholics.

There are seven sacraments under the new law: that is to say, baptism, confirmation, the mass, penance, extreme unction, ordination, and matrimony. These differ essentially from the sacraments of the old law; for the latter do not confer grace, but only typify that grace which can be given by the passion of Christ alone. But these our sacraments both contain grace and confer it upon all who receive them worthily.

The first five sacraments are intended to secure the spiritual perfection of every man individually; the two last are ordained for the governance and increase of the Church. For through baptism we are born again of the spirit; through confirmation we grow in grace and are strengthened in the faith; and when we have been born again and strengthened we are fed by the divine food of the mass; but if, through sin, we bring sickness upon our souls, we are made spiritually whole by penance; and by extreme unction we are healed, both spiritually and corporeally, according as our souls have need; by ordination the Church is governed and multiplied spiritually; by matrimony it is materially increased.

To effect these sacraments three things are necessary: the things [or symbols], that is, the "material"; the words, that is, the "form"; and the person of the "ministrant," who administers the sacrament with the intention of carrying out what the Church effects through him. If any of these things be lacking, the sacrament is not accomplished.

The indelible characters.

Three of these sacraments — baptism, confirmation, and ordination — impress indelibly upon the soul a character, a certain spiritual sign, distinct from all others; so they are not repeated for the same person. The other four do not imprint a character upon the soul, and admit of repetition.

Baptism.

Holy baptism holds the first place among all the sacraments because it is the gate of spiritual life; for by it we are made members of Christ and of the body of the Church. Since through the first man death entered into the world, unless we are born again of water, and of the spirit, we cannot, so saith Truth, enter into the kingdom of heaven. The material of this sacrament is water, real and natural —

it matters nothing whether it be cold or warm. Now the form is: "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." . . .[1]

The ministrant of this sacrament is the priest, for baptism belongs to his office. But in case of necessity not only a priest or deacon may baptize, but a layman or a woman — nay, even a pagan or a heretic, provided he use the form of the Church and intend to do what the Church effects. The efficacy of this sacrament is the remission of all sin, original sin and actual, and of all penalties incurred through this guilt. Therefore no satisfaction for past sin should be imposed on those who are baptized; but if they die before they commit any sin, they shall straightway attain the kingdom of heaven and the sight of God.

Confirmation. The second sacrament is confirmation. The material is the chrism made from oil, which signifies purity of conscience, and from balsam, which signifies the odor of fair fame; and it must be blessed by the bishop. The form is: "I sign thee with the sign of the cross and confirm thee with the chrism of salvation, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The proper ministrant of this sacrament is the bishop. While a simple priest avails to perform the other anointings, this one none can confer save the bishop only; for it is written of the apostles alone that by the laying on of hands they gave the Holy Ghost, and the bishops hold the office of the apostles. We read in the Acts of the Apostles, when the apostles who were at Jerusalem heard how Samaria had received the word of God, they sent to them Peter and John; who, when they were come, prayed that they might receive the Holy Ghost; for as yet it was fallen upon none of them, — they were only baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. Then they laid hands upon them and they received the Holy Ghost. Now, in place of this laying on of hands, confirmation is given in the Church. Yet we read that sometimes, for reasonable and urgent cause,

[1] Certain variations in the words used do not necessarily vitiate the sacrament.

by dispensation from the Holy See, a simple priest has been permitted to administer confirmation with a chrism prepared by a bishop.

In this sacrament the Holy Ghost is given to strengthen us, as it was given to the apostles on the day of Pentecost, that the Christian may confess boldly the name of Christ. And therefore he is confirmed upon the brow, the seat of shame, that he may never blush to confess the name of Christ and especially his cross, which is a stumbling-block to the Jews and foolishness to the Gentiles, according to the apostle. Therefore he is signed with the sign of the cross.

The holy eucharist.

The third sacrament is the eucharist. The material is wheaten bread and wine of the grape, which before consecration should be mixed very sparingly with water; because, according to the testimony of the holy fathers and doctors of the Church set forth in former times in disputation, it is believed that the Lord himself instituted this sacrament with wine mixed with water, and also because this corresponds with the accounts of our Lord's passion. For the holy Pope Alexander, fifth from the blessed Peter, says, "In the offerings of sacred things made to God during the solemnization of the mass, only bread and wine mixed with water are offered up. Neither wine alone nor water alone may be offered up in the cup of the Lord, but both mixed, since it is written that both blood and water flowed from Christ's side."

Moreover the mixing of water with the wine fitly signifies the efficacy of this sacrament, namely, the union of Christian people with Christ, for water signifies "people," according to the passage in the Apocalypse which says, "many waters, many people." And Julius, second pope after the blessed Sylvester, says: "According to the provisions of the canons the cup of the Lord should be offered filled with wine mixed with water, because a people is signified by the water, and in the wine is manifested the blood of Christ. Therefore when the wine and water are mixed in the cup the people are joined to Christ, and the host of the faithful is united with him in whom they believe."

Since, therefore, the holy Roman Church, instructed by the most blessed apostles Peter and Paul, together with all the other churches of the Greeks and Latins in which glowed the light of sanctity and of doctrine, has from the beginning of the nascent Church observed this custom and still observes it, it is quite unseemly that any region whatever should depart from this universal and rational observance. We decree, therefore, that the Armenians likewise shall conform themselves with the whole Christian world, and that their priests shall mix a little water with the wine in the cup of oblation.

Transubstantiation of the bread and the wine.

The form of this sacrament is furnished by the words of the Saviour when he instituted it, and the priest, speaking in the person of Christ, consummates this sacrament. By virtue of these words, the substance of the bread is turned into the body of Christ and the substance of the wine into his blood. This is accomplished in such wise that the whole Christ is altogether present under the semblance of the bread and altogether under the semblance of the wine. Moreover, after the consecrated host and the consecrated wine have been divided, the whole Christ is present in any part of them. The benefit effected by this sacrament in the souls of those who receive it worthily is the union of man with Christ. And since, through grace, man is made one body with Christ and united in his members, it follows that through this sacrament grace is increased in those who partake of it worthily. Every effect of material food and drink upon the physical life, in nourishment, growth, and pleasure, is wrought by this sacrament for the spiritual life. By it we recall the beloved memory of our Saviour; by it we are withheld from evil, and strengthened in good, and go forward to renewed growth in virtues and graces.

Penance and its three parts.

The fourth sacrament is penance. The material, as we may say, consists in the acts of penitence, which are divided into three parts. The first of these is contrition of the heart, wherein the sinner must grieve for the sins he has committed, with the resolve to commit no further sins.

Second comes confession with the mouth, to which it pertains that the sinner should make confession to his priest of all the sins he holds in his memory. The third is satisfaction for sins according to the judgment of the priest, and this is made chiefly by prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. The form of this sacrament consists in the words of absolution which the priest speaks when he says, "I absolve thee," etc.; and the minister of this sacrament is the priest, who has authority to absolve either regularly or by the commission of a superior. The benefit of this sacrament is absolution from sins.

Extreme unction.

The fifth sacrament is extreme unction, and the material is oil of the olive, blessed by a bishop. This sacrament shall not be given to any except the sick who are in fear of death. They shall be anointed in the following places: the eyes on account of the sight, the ears on account of the hearing, the nostrils on account of smell, the mouth on account of taste and speech, the hands on account of touch, the feet on account of walking, and the loins as the seat of pleasure. The form of this sacrament is as follows: "Through this holy unction and his most tender compassion, the Lord grants thee forgiveness for whatever sins thou hast committed by the sight," — and in the same way for the other members. The minister of this sacrament is a priest. The benefit is even the healing of the mind and, so far as is expedient, of the body also. Of this sacrament the blessed apostle James says: "Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the church and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him."

Ordination.

The sixth sacrament is ordination. The material for the priesthood is the cup with the wine and the paten with the bread; for the deaconate, the books of the Gospel; for the subdeaconate, an empty cup placed upon an empty paten; and in like manner, other offices are conferred by giving to the candidates those things which pertain to their

secular ministrations. The form for priests is this: "Receive the power to offer sacrifice in the Church for the living and the dead, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And so for each order the proper form shall be used, as fully stated in the Roman pontifical. The regular minister of this sacrament is a bishop; the benefit, growth in grace, to the end that whosoever is ordained may be a worthy minister.

Matrimony.

The seventh sacrament is matrimony, the type of the union of Christ and the Church, according to the apostle, who saith, "This is a great mystery[1]; but I speak concerning Christ and the church." The efficient cause of marriage is regularly the mutual consent uttered aloud on the spot. These advantages are to be ascribed to marriage: first, the begetting of children and their bringing up in the worship of the Lord; secondly, the fidelity that husband and wife should each maintain toward the other; thirdly, the indissoluble character of marriage, for this typifies the indissoluble union of Christ and the Church. Although for the cause of adultery separation is permissible, for no other cause may marriage be infringed, since the bond of marriage once legitimately contracted is perpetual.

III. Tales illustrating the Miraculous Power of the Sacraments and the Religious Ideas of the Common People

There were many tales current in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which were used by preachers and writers to show the wondrous workings of the sacraments and the timely intervention in human affairs of the Virgin and the saints. Three collections of these

[1] In this passage from Paul's epistle to the Ephesians (v 32) the original Greek word *mystērion* was translated by the Latin *sacramentum*, so that the sentence reads in the Vulgate version of the New Testament, *Sacramentum hoc magnum est.*

anecdotes are especially well known: (1) The *Dialogues concerning Miracles*, brought together by a devout Cistercian monk, Cæsar of Heisterbach (d. *ca.* 1240), early in the thirteenth century; (2) the sermon stories of Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240), a bishop and cardinal, famous for his preaching; (3) the anecdotes or apologues of Stephen of Bourbon, a Dominican inquisitor (d. 1261), a man of wide experience and much sagacity.

136. Christ is seen in the hands of a priest. (From the *Dialogues* of Cæsar of Heisterbach.)

In Hemmenrode a certain aged priest, Henry by name, died a few years ago. He was a holy and just man, and had been for many years sacristan in that monastery. When he was celebrating the mass one day at the altar of St. John the Baptist, in the choir of the lay brethren, a certain one of the lay brethren standing near saw, in the hands of the priest, the Saviour in the form of a man. Nevertheless the priest himself did not see it. One of the elders of that convent related this to me.

137. Bees construct a church for the host. (From Stephen of *Bourbon*.)

I have heard that a certain rustic, wishing to become wealthy and having many hives of bees, asked certain evil men how he could get rich and increase the number of his bees. He was told by some one that if he retained the sacred host on Easter and placed it in some one of his hives, he would entice away all of his neighbor's bees, which, leaving their own hives, would come to the place where the body of our Lord was and there would make honey. So he did this.

Then all the bees came to the hive where the body of Christ was, and just as if they felt sorrow for the irreverence done to it, by their labor they began to construct a little church and to erect foundations, and bases, and columns, and an altar; then with the greatest reverence they placed the body of our Lord upon the altar. And within their little beehive they formed the little church with wonderful and most beautiful workmanship. The bees of

the vicinity, leaving their hives, came to that one; and over that work they sang in their own manner certain wonderful melodies like hymns.

The rustic, hearing this, marveled. But waiting until the fitting time for collecting the honey, he found nothing in his hives. Finding himself impoverished through the means by which he had expected to be enriched, he went to the hive where he had placed the host, and where he saw the bees had come together. But when he approached, just as if they wished to vindicate the insult to our Saviour, the bees rushed upon the rustic and stung him so severely that he escaped with difficulty and in great agony. Going to the priest, he related all that he had done, and what the bees had done.

The priest, by the advice of the bishop, collected his parishioners and made a procession to that place. Then the bees, leaving the hive, rose in the air, making sweet melody. Raising the hive, they found inside the noble structure of that little church and the body of our Lord placed upon the altar. Then, returning thanks, they bore to their own church that little church of the bees, constructed with such skill and elegance, and placed it on the altar.

By this deed those who do not reverence, but offer insult instead, to the sacred body of Christ, or the sacred place where it is, ought to be put to great confusion.

138. Through confession a forgotten prayer is erased from the devil's book. (From *Stephen of Bourbon.*)

Also it is related that once when a certain holy father was engaged with the brethren in some work, he forgot to recite the *nones* at the right time, on account of his occupation. Afterwards he saw the devil passing before him, bearing on his shoulders a very large book, in the shape of a roll, which looked as large as a tower; and he adjured the devil in the name of the Lord to drop the book. When the monk unrolled the book, he found written on one page that he himself had not said the *nones* on the day and at the hour when he ought. Whereupon, prostrating himself at once at the feet of his companions, he confessed his negligence, and immediately looking again in the devil's roll, he found that

what had been written there was erased, and thereby he knew the efficacy of confession.

139. The Virgin saves the reputation of an erring matron and monk. (From *Jacques de Vitry.*)

A certain very religious man told me that this happened in a place where he had been staying. A virtuous and pious matron came frequently to the church and served God most devoutly day and night. There also came a certain monk, the guardian and treasurer of the monastery, who had a great reputation for piety, and truly devout he was. When, however, the two frequently conversed together in the church concerning religious matters, the devil, envying their virtue and reputation, tempted them very sorely, so that the spiritual love was changed to carnal. Accordingly they fixed upon a night when the monk was to leave his monastery, taking the treasures of the church, and the matron her home, with a sum of money which she should steal from her husband.

After they had fled, the monks, on rising in the morning, saw that the chests had been broken open and the treasures of the church stolen; and not finding the monk, they quickly pursued him; likewise the husband his wife. Overtaking the monk and the woman with the treasure and money, they brought them back and threw them into prison. So great was the scandal throughout the whole country, and so much were all religious persons reviled, that the harm from the infamy and scandal was far greater than from the sin itself.

Then the monk, restored to his senses, began with many tears to pray to the blessed Virgin, whom from infancy he had always served, and never before had any such misfortune happened to him. Likewise the said matron began urgently to implore the aid of the blessed Virgin, whom regularly, day and night, she had been accustomed to salute and kneel in prayer before her image. At length the blessed Virgin, very angry, appeared, and after she had sorely upbraided them, she said: "I can obtain the remission of your sins from my Son, but what can I do about such a dreadful scandal? For you have so befouled the name of religious persons before all the people, that in the future no one will trust them. The harm you have done is almost irremediable."

Nevertheless the merciful Virgin, overcome by their prayers, summoned the demons who had caused the deed and enjoined upon them that, as they had caused the scandal to religion, they must bring it to an end. As they were not able to resist her commands, after much anxiety and various conferences, they found a way to remove the infamy. In the night they placed the monk in his church, and, repairing the broken receptacle as it was before, they placed the treasure in it. Also after replacing the money in it they closed and locked the chest which the matron had opened. And they set the woman in her room and in the place where she was accustomed to pray by night.

When the monks found the treasure of their monastery, and their brother praying to God just as he had been accustomed to do, and the husband saw his wife, and the money was found just as it had been before, they became stupefied and wondered. Rushing to the prison, they saw the monk and the woman in fetters just as they had left them; for one of the demons was seen by them transformed into the likeness of a monk and another into the likeness of a woman. When everybody in the whole city had come together to see the miracle, the demons said in the hearing of all, "Let us go, for sufficiently have we deluded these people by causing them to think evil of religious persons." And, saying this, they suddenly disappeared. Then all threw themselves at the feet of the monk and of the woman and demanded pardon.

Behold how great infamy and scandal and what inestimable damage the devil would have wrought against religious persons, if the blessed Virgin had not aided them.

IV. The Privilege of Benefit of Clergy

Richard of Bury, bishop of Durham, a celebrated book collector of the early fourteenth century, wrote a charming little volume in praise of books, the *Philobiblon*. Among other things he gives the complaint of the books

against those ungrateful members of the clergy who fail to realize that it is to books that they chiefly owe their exalted position and privileges. Through their ability to read, the clergy are raised above the laity; for when a clerk commits a crime he may, by reading a single line, secure the "benefit of clergy," — the right to be tried by a church court, which cannot, like the secular tribunals, inflict capital punishment. Thus even the learning which the unworthy clerk had practically forgotten through neglect rescues him at the last moment from the gallows.

140. How a clergyman might be saved from the gallows by reading a line. (From the *Philobiblon* of Richard of Bury.)

Ye [namely, the clergy] are a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy race; ye are a peculiar people chosen into the lot of God; ye are priests and ministers of God, nay, ye are called the very Church of God, — as though the laity were not to be called churchmen. Ye, being preferred to the laity, sing psalms and hymns in the chancel and, serving the altar and living by the altar, make the true body of Christ; wherein God himself has honored you not only above the laity, but even a little higher than the angels; — for to whom of his angels has he said at any time: "Thou art a priest forever, after the order of Melchizedek"? Ye dispense the patrimony of the Crucified One to the poor, wherein it is required of stewards that a man be found faithful. Ye are shepherds of the Lord's flock, as well in example of life as in the word of doctrine, and your sheep are bound to repay you with milk and wool.

Who are the givers of all these things, O clerks? Is it not books? Do ye remember, therefore, we pray, how many and how great are the liberties and privileges which we books bestow upon the clergy. In truth, taught by us, who are the vessels of wisdom and intellect, ye ascend the teacher's chair and are called of men, Rabbi. By us ye become marvelous in the eyes of the laity, like great lights in the world, and possess the dignities of the Church according to your various

stations. By us, while ye still lack the first down upon your cheeks, ye are established in your early years and bear the tonsure on your heads, while the dread sentence of the Church is heard, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm;" and he who has rashly touched them let him forthwith, by his own blow, be smitten violently with the wound of an anathema.

At length, yielding your lives to wickedness, reaching the two paths of Pythagoras, ye choose the left branch and, going backward, ye let go the lot of God which ye had first assumed, becoming companions of thieves. And thus, ever going from bad to worse, blackened by theft and murder and manifold impurities, your fame and conscience stained by sin, at the bidding of justice ye are confined in manacles and fetters, and are kept to be punished by a most shameful death. Then your friend is put far away, nor is there any to mourn your lot. Peter swears that he knows not the man; the people cry to the judge: "Crucify, crucify him! If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend."

Now all refuge is gone, for ye must stand before the judgment seat, and there is no appeal, but only the gallows is in store for you. While the wretched man's heart is thus filled with woe, and only the sorrowing Muses bedew their cheeks with tears, in his strait is heard on every side the wailing appeal to us, and to avoid the danger of impending death he shows the slight sign of the ancient tonsure which he received through us, begging that we may be called to his aid and bear witness to the privilege bestowed upon him.

Then straightway, touched with pity, we run to meet the prodigal son and snatch the fugitive slave from the gates of death. The book he has not forgotten is handed to him to be read, and when, with lips stammering with fear, he reads a few words, the power of the judge is loosed, the accuser is withdrawn, and death is put to flight. O marvelous virtue of an empiric verse! O saving antidote of dreadful ruin! O precious reading of the psalter, which for this alone deserves to be called the book of life! Let the laity undergo the judgment of the secular arm, that, either sewn up in

sacks they may be carried out to Neptune, or planted in the earth may fructify for Pluto, or may be offered amid the flames as a fattened holocaust to Vulcan, or at least may be hung up as a victim to Juno; while our foster child, at a single reading of the book of life, is handed over to the custody of the bishop, rigor is changed to favor, and the forum being transferred from the laity, death is routed by the clerk who is the nursling of books.

V. How the Churches and Monasteries were Supported

The following statement indicates how numerous and complicated were the sources of revenue which even a parish church might claim as its rightful means of support.

141. The revenue of a parish church (1237).

I, Hugh, dean of Gyé, hereby inform the present generation, and those to come, that, according as I have heard and learned from my predecessors of blessed memory and have myself seen in my time, the church of St. Mary of Châtillon in my parish of Gyé possesses the following revenue: namely, one sixth of the tithe of grain and wine and one half of the offerings, bequests and alms, — provided they are paid in money, — and one half of the small tithe.[1] From Neuilly, one eighteenth of the tithe of grain, one sixth of the tithe of wine, and one half of the small tithes, offerings, and legacies. From C——, on behalf of the allodial lands, two parts of the tithe of grain, one sixth of the tithe of wine, one half of the legacies and offerings, and the whole of the small tithe, except twelve pence, which the parish priest by virtue of his office has been wont to receive as fish money. From the monastery of C——, two parts of the tithe of grain and wine and of the small tithes, one third of the offerings at Christmas, Pentecost, and All Saints. Of the other offerings, however, made there during the year the church of

[1] That is, the tithe of other than the staple crops, — for example, of pigs, lambs, flax, etc.

Châtillon receives nothing whatever. Of the legacies upward of twelve pence it receives one third, but of those below that sum it receives by custom nothing at all.

It would seem as if the chances of misunderstanding and of consequent litigation must have been great when the property and dues were so curiously divided among the various churches and monasteries. This astonishing subdivision of the revenues possessed by ecclesiastical bodies was doubtless due in large part to the habits of their benefactors, whose property was commonly greatly scattered, or bequeathed in a seemingly arbitrary fashion, as in the following instance.

142. A Swabian count, Luithold, gives certain manors to the monastery of Zwifalt. (End of eleventh century.)

Lord Luithold, the count, gave for the support of Christ's poor, the monks of this monastery of the holy Mother of God, half of the manor which is called Derendingen. This has excellent soil and is said to include twelve or more hides of arable land alone. He also gave meadows full good, and a half right to the exercise of all legal powers in the whole manor. He gave two groves, two mills, and a half right to the church on the same manor, and the sole right to the church of St. Blasius hard by the manor. To these two churches, that is to those portions of the churches which are under our jurisdiction, belongs one grove of five hides.

And he gave half of the manor which is called Undingen, which includes twelve hides of fertile land and meadows and extends over an area of more than sixty hides of woods and of pastures for cattle. There is also an inn there. . . .

And he also gave us the whole manor of Altenburg, with the sole right to the chapel, and a mill. The estate is believed to comprise almost fourteen hides of arable lands and meadows, without counting the woods and pastures.

He granted us, too, a half of the church at Oferdingen, with four hides of fine arable land situated there, and at Neuhausen one mansus; likewise at Dusslingen one, and two at Immenweiler, — which afterwards we exchanged for

two at Stubichahe. Also ten mansus at Scephbouch and four at Willsingen and three mills at Husin, — which were afterwards given in exchange to Rudolph of Reutlingen for Wimsheim. Also near the town of Chur a fourth part of the church in the manor called Maifeld. . . .

Describing with pride the foundation (1089) and history of his monastery of Zwifalt in Swabia, the monk Ortlieb gives the following account of "our family" (*nostra familia*).

143. Ortlieb's account of those who lived under the jurisdiction of the monastery of Zwifalt (1135).

Now this our monastery church possesses many persons who, because of the oppression of their former lords and of the burdens which weighed them down, have come under our jurisdiction in order to have peace. Some of these are tillers of the soil, some vinedressers; others are bakers, cobblers, artisans, merchants, and those who follow various trades and callings. Some of those who pay their dues to the monastery are on a different footing from others. Even among those who belong directly to the monastery some pay money yearly, while others contribute wax towards making a certain great candle. What all these pay in dues to the monastery is all handed over to the custodian of the church.

Some of those under our jurisdiction belong to the people's church across the river, some to St. Stephen's church at Tigerfeld, or to the church of St. Blasius at Derendingen, or to other churches under our control. While these pay their dues to the particular church to which they are known to belong, they are all, nevertheless, like the others, numbered among the members of our monastery family, and they should obey our decrees, no matter if they pay dues to some other church or monastery.

And it is to be noted that the people of Tigerfeld and those who pay their dues to that church are to be judged, at appointed times, by the advocate of that place in the presence of the provost of our monastery. If any one should be convicted of any rash act, or of failure to pay his dues, one

part of the fine exacted shall go to the advocate and two parts to our community. . . .

The retainers of the monastery required to demean themselves humbly.

Among our men some owe service of this kind, namely: when the lord abbot, prior, provost, or others among the brethren would travel anywhither, these men with their horses, do accompany the brethren and minister unto them obediently. And in order that this service may be rightfully required of them they are granted certain benefices. They assuredly rejoice to be honored by this distinction because they have the right to have under them men we call clients, or *ministeriales*. Yet in spite of this, no man of ours has ever become so perverse or haughty that he presumed to ride with us in military array, or refused to carry the wallet of any of our monks upon his pack horse. The founders of our monastery did not intend to give us such men, and we have not consented to receive any one who might prove troublesome to us or to our successors.

VI. Tales illustrating the Mediæval Attitude towards Heretics

The popular horror in which heresy was held in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is well shown in the following accounts.

144. The body of a burned heretic turns into toads. (From *Luke, bishop of Tuy*, thirteenth century.)

From the lips of the same brother Elias, a venerable man, I learned that when certain heretics were scattering the virulent seeds of error in parts of Burgundy, both the Preaching Friars and the Minorites drew the two-edged sword of God's word against these same heretics, opposing them valiantly, until they were finally taken by the magistrate of the district. He sent them to the stake, as they merited, in order that these workers of iniquity should perish in their wickedness as a wholesome lesson to others.

Quantities of wood having been supplied in plenty to feed the flames, suddenly a toad of wonderful size appeared, and without being driven, betook itself of its own accord

into the midst of the flames. One of the heretics, who was reported to be their bishop, had fallen on his back in the fire. The toad took his place on this man's face and in the sight of all ate out the heretic's tongue.

By the next day his whole body, except his bones, had been turned into disgusting toads, which could not be counted for their great number. The inhabitants, seeing the miracle, glorified God and praised him in his servants, the Preaching Friars, because the Lord had, in his mercy, delivered them from the horror of such pollution.

Consummate guilt of heresy.

God omnipotent surely wished to show through the most unseemly and filthiest of animals, how foul and infamous are the teachings of heretics, so that all might thereafter carefully shun the heretic as they would the poisonous toad. Just as among four-footed creatures the toad is held the foulest, so the teachings of the heretic are more debased and filthy than those of any other religious sect. The blindness of heresy justifies the perfidy of the Jews. Its pollution makes the madness of the Mohammedans a pure thing in contrast. The licentiousness of the heretics would leave Sodom and Gomorrah stainless. What is held most enormous in crime becomes most holy when compared with the shame and ignominy of heresy. Therefore, dear Christian, flee this unspeakable evil, in comparison with which all other crimes are as trifles.

145. Two heretics work miracles with the devil's aid. (From the *Dialogues* of Cæsar of Heisterbach.)

Two men, simply clad but not without guile, not sheep but ravening wolves, came to Besançon, feigning the greatest piety. Moreover they were pale and thin, they went about barefooted and fasted daily, they did not miss a single morning the matins in the cathedral, nor did they accept anything from any one except a little food. When by this hypocrisy they had attracted the attention of every one, they began to vomit forth their hidden poison and to preach to the ignorant new and unheard-of heresies. In order, moreover, that the people might believe their teachings, they ordered meal to be sifted on the sidewalk and walked on it without leaving a trace of a footprint. Likewise, walking upon the

water, they did not sink; also they had little huts burned over their heads, and after the huts had been burned to ashes, they came out uninjured. After this they said to the people, "If you do not believe our words, believe our miracles."

The bishop and the clergy, hearing of this, were greatly disturbed. And when they wished to resist the men, affirming that they were heretics and deceivers and ministers of the devil, they escaped with difficulty from being stoned by the people. Now that bishop was a good and learned man and a native of our province. Our aged monk, Conrad, who told me these facts and who was in that city at the time, knew him well.

The bishop, seeing that his words were of no avail and that the people intrusted to his charge were being seduced from the faith by the devil's agents, summoned a certain clerk that he knew, who was very well versed in necromancy, and said: "Certain men in my city are doing so and so. I ask you to find out from the devil, by your art, who they are, whence they come, and by what means they work so many and such wonderful miracles. For it is impossible that they should do wonders through divine inspiration when their teaching is so contrary to that of God." The clerk said, "My lord, I have long ago renounced that art." The bishop replied: "You see clearly in what straits I am. I must either acquiesce in their teachings or be stoned by the people. Therefore I enjoin upon you, for the remission of your sins, that you obey me in this matter."

The clerk, obeying the bishop, summoned the devil, and, when asked why he had called him, responded: "I am sorry that I have deserted you. And because I desire to be more obedient to you in the future than in the past, I ask you to tell me who these men are, what they teach, and by what means they work so great miracles." The devil replied, "They are mine and sent by me, and they preach what I have placed in their mouths." The clerk responded, "How is it that they cannot be injured, or sunk in the water, or burned by fire?" The demon replied again, "They have

under their armpits, sewed between the skin and the flesh, my compacts, in which the homage done by them to me is written; and it is by virtue of these that they work such miracles and cannot be injured by any one." Then the clerk said, "What if those should be taken away from them?" The devil replied, "Then they would be weak, just like other men." The clerk, having heard this, thanked the demon, saying, "Now go, and when you are summoned by me, return."

He then went to the bishop and related these things to him in due order. The latter, filled with great joy, summoned all the people of the city to a suitable place and said: "I am your shepherd, ye are my sheep. If those men, as you say, confirm their teaching by signs, I will follow them with you. If not, it is fitting that they should be punished and that you should penitently return to the faith of your fathers with me." The people replied, "We have seen many signs from them." The bishop said, "But I have not seen them."

Why prolong my tale? The plan pleased the people. The heretics were summoned. The bishop was present. A fire was kindled in the midst of the city. However, before the heretics entered it, they were secretly summoned to the bishop. He said to them, "I want to see if you have anything evil about you." Hearing this, they stripped quickly and said with great confidence, "Search our bodies and our garments carefully." The soldiers, however, following the instructions of the bishop, raised the men's arms, and noticing under the armpits some scars that were healed up, cut them open with their knives and extracted from them little scrolls which had been sewed in.

Having received these, the bishop went forth with the heretics to the people and, having commanded silence, cried out in a loud voice, "Now shall your prophets enter the fire, and if they are not injured I will believe in them." The wretched men trembled and said, "We are not able to enter now." Then the bishop told the people of the evil which had been detected, and showed the compacts. Then all

were furious and hurled the devil's ministers into the fire which had been prepared, to be tortured with the devil in eternal flames. And thus, through the grace of God and the zeal of the bishop, the growing heresy was extinguished, and the people who had been seduced and corrupted were cleansed by penance.

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General conditions in the Church.

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CHAPTER XVII

HERESY AND THE FRIARS

I. Denunciations of the Evil Lives of the Clergy

The extracts which follow illustrate the outspoken criticism of the conduct and lives of the ecclesiastical officials, from the pope down, which abounds in the popular literary productions of England, France, and Germany in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

The first extracts are from a poem, not improbably composed by a very clever churchman, Walter Mape or Mapes, who was a member of the literary circle which Henry II of England gathered about him. It is but one of a great number of Latin poems originating at the same period, "remarkable chiefly for pungency of satire or sprightliness of composition." They were the work of university men, and show us that the Church never succeeded in effectively checking, at least among the educated, the most open and scornful strictures upon the clergy.

The poet is represented as caught up into heaven, where he sees visions suggested by the Apocalypse of St. John. The translation here given is one made under Elizabeth, or a little later.

146. *The Revelation of Golias the Bisshoppe.*

After a burst of thunder a "goodlie personage" appears and bids the poet "Marke well and understand":

And when he had thus done he did bringe out a booke,
Which booke had titles seven, and seven sealles sealled well,
And with a stedfast eye badde me therein to looke,
And see therbie what I to all the world should tell.

Of bisshopes' life and trade, this book hathe right good skill,
As by the sealles thereof more plainlie dothe appeare,
For in the inner part is hidd all that is ill,
But to the outeward shewe all godlie thinges appeare.

Anon a certaine power there was that opened cleare
The formost chapter's seale, and then I did espie
Foure beasts, whose shape eche one unlike to other were,
But nothinge yet at all in gesture contrarie.

The first of theise four beasts a lion semde to be,
The secund like a caulfe, the third an eagle stout,
The fourthe was like a man; and they had wings to flie,
And full of eyen they were, and turnd like wheeles about.

And when unclosed was the first sealles knotte anon,
And I perused well the chapter thorough cleare,
And aftir that I bent my whole sight thereupon,
Whereof the title was as here it may appeare.

The lion is the Pope, that useth to devoure,
And laiethe his bookes to pledge and thirsteth aftir gold,
And dothe regard the marke, but sainct Marke dishonor,
And while he sailes alofte on coyne takes anker holde.

And to the Bisshoppe in the caulfe that we did see,
For he dothe runne before in pasture, feild, and fenne,
And gnawes and chewes on that where he list best to be,
And thus he filles himselfe with goodes of other men.

Th' Archdeacon is likewise the egell that dothe flie,
A robber rightlie cald, and sees a-farre his praie,
And aftir it with speed dothe follow by and by,
And so by theft and spoile he leades his life awaie.

The Deane is he that hathe the face and shape of man,
Withe fraude, desceipt, and guile fraught full as he may be,
And yet dothe hide and cloke the same as he best can,
Undir pretense and shewe of plaine simplicitie.

And theis have winges to flye, eche one of these said foure,
Because they flye abrode, and lie about affaires,
And they have eyes eche one, because that everye houre,
They looke about for gaine, and all that may be theires.

. . . . . .

Then boisterous wyndes arose, and earthequakes by and by,
And there was harde a voice of thunder from above,
That sounded Ephata, which woorde dothe signifie
An openinge; and anon the fifthe seale did remove.

When I the chapter sawe I reade the preface than,
And there the life and trades of priestes I marked well,
Which doe dishonor God, that all thinges first beganne,
Whiles for one penyes gaine the Trinitie they sell.

Full filthelie the priest dothe service celebrate
Withe voyce, and breathes on God his surfet's belchinge cheere;
And hathe twoo Latin names, but not bothe of one rate,
Sacerdos is the one, the other's Presbiter.

He cannot brooke as well Sacerdos name by right,
For by the other name men ought to call him more,
When he gives holie thinges then he Sacerdos hight,
But Presbiter when he hathe drunck well thrise before.

He is more bolde to synne, because he heares in Lent
The people's greivous crymes, and all their synnes at large,
And all the faultes for whiche they ought for to be shent,
And thus he countes his owne to be of smallest charge.

. . . . . .

The doings of abbots and monks are next revealed to the poet:

And when the Abbat dothe amonge his bretheren suppe,
Then tossed are the cuppes with quaffinge to and froe,
And then with bothe his handes the wine he holdeth uppe,
And with a thunderinge voice these wordes he doth outblowe:

"O how muche glorious is the lordes lamp so bright,
The cuppe in strong man's hande, that makes men druncke I meane.
O Baccus, god of wyne! our convent guyde aright,
With fruict of Daviddes stocke to wash us thoroughlie cleane."

And aftir this the cuppe he takethe from the breade,
And cryes alowde, "Ho! sires, can yow as well as I
Drincke this cuppe in his kind that I lift to my heade?"
They answer, "Yea, we can," then goe to by and by.

. . . . . .

Then of a moncke a right demoniacke is made,
And everie moncke dothe chatte and jangle with his brother,
As popingaye or pie, the which are taught this trade,
By filling of their gorge, to speake one to an other.

Their order to transgresse, thei have but small remorce,
By fraude and perjurie, by missreport and spite,
By gredines of mynde, withholdinge thinges by force,
By filling of their pawnches, and fleshlie fowle delight.

Wurse than a moncke there is no feende nor sprite in hell,
Nothinge as covetuouse nor more straunge to be knowen,
For yf yow give him ought, he maie possesse it well,
But if you aske him ought, then nothinge is his owne.

The German minnesinger, Walther von der Vogelweide, who lived a little later than Walter Mapes, speaks in a still more bitter tone of the popes:

St. Peter's chair is filled to-day as well
As when 'twas fouled by Gerbert's sorcery;[1]

147. *Walther von der Vogelweide* on the practices of the popes.

For he consigned himself alone to hell,
While this pope thither drags all Christentie.
Why are the chastisements of Heaven delayed?
How long wilt thou in slumber lie, O Lord?

Thy work is hindered and thy word gainsaid,
Thy treasurer steals the wealth that thou hast stored.
Thy ministers rob here and murder there,
And o'er thy sheep a wolf has shepherd's care.

A belated troubadour in the early fourteenth century thus denounces all classes of the clergy:

I see the pope his sacred trust betray,
For while the rich his grace can gain alway,
His favors from the poor are aye withholden.
He strives to gather wealth as best he may,
Forcing Christ's people blindly to obey,
So that he may repose in garments golden.
The vilest traffickers in souls are all
His chapmen, and for gold a prebend's stall
He 'll sell them, or an abbacy or miter.
And to us he sends clowns and tramps who crawl
Vending his pardon briefs from cot to hall —
Letters and pardons worthy of the writer,
Which leaves our pokes, if not our souls, the lighter.

148. A troubadour's description of the abuses in the Church. (From a poem by *Raimon de Cornet.*)

No better is each honored cardinal.
From early morning's dawn to evening's fall,
Their time is passed in eagerly contriving
To drive some bargain foul with each and all.
So if you feel a want, or great or small,
Or if for some preferment you are striving,

The cardinals.

[1] A reference to Pope Sylvester II (see above, p. 220), who was popularly supposed to have practiced magical arts.

The more you please to give the more 't will bring,
Be it a purple cap or bishop's ring.
And it need ne'er in any way alarm you
That you are ignorant of everything
To which a minister of Christ should cling,
You will have revenue enough to warm you —
And, bear in mind, the lesser gifts won't harm you.

The bishops.

Our bishops, too, are plunged in similar sin,
For pitilessly they flay the very skin
From all their priests who chance to have fat livings.
For gold their seal official you can win
To any writ, no matter what 's therein.
Sure God alone can make them stop their thievings.
'T were hard, in full, their evil works to tell,
As when, for a few pence, they greedily sell
The tonsure to some mountebank or jester,
Whereby the temporal courts are wronged as well,
For then these tonsured rogues they cannot quell,
Howe'er their scampish doings may us pester,
While round the church still growing evils fester.

The priests and minor clerks.

Then as for all the priests and minor clerks,
There are, God knows, too many of them whose works
And daily life belie their daily teaching.
Scarce better are they than so many Turks,
Though they, no doubt, may be well taught — it irks
Me not to own the fullness of their teaching —
For, learned or ignorant, they 're ever bent
To make a traffic of each sacrament,
The mass's holy sacrifice included;
And when they shrive an honest penitent,
Who will not bribe, his penance they augment,
For honesty should never be obtruded —
But this, by sinners fair, is easily eluded.

The monks and friars.

'T is true the monks and friars make ample show
Of rules austere which they all undergo,
But this the vainest is of all pretenses.

In sooth, they live full twice as well, we know,
As e'er they did at home, despite their vow,
And all their mock parade of abstinences.
No jollier life than theirs can be, indeed;
And specially the begging friars exceed,
Whose frock grants license as abroad they wander.
These motives 't is which to the Orders lead
So many worthless men, in sorest need
Of pelf, which on their vices they may squander,
And then, the frock protects them in their plunder.

II. An Unimpeachable Report of the Habits of the Clergy of Normandy in the Thirteenth Century

It is not unnatural to suspect that the troubadours and popular writers exceeded the bounds of truth in their pungent satires, and were guilty at times of exaggeration in their denunciations; but the cold daily record which the conscientious archbishop of Rouen, Eudes Rigaud, kept of his pastoral visits in the middle of the thirteenth century is open to no such objection. There is no reason to suppose that he did not tell the exact truth; and had we such reports as his for the condition of the clergy in the other archbishoprics of western Europe, it would be easy to determine how far the preachers, reformers, and the troubadours were justified in the dark picture which they give of the lives of the clergy. It must be conceded that, so far as Normandy is concerned, the evidence of the archbishop would show that, in many of the parishes, monasteries, and nunneries matters could hardly have been worse, although occasionally he found dutiful priests, and monks and nuns who observed the rule under which they lived.

149. Extracts from record of the pastoral visits of the archbishop of Rouen, *Eudes Rigaud* (1248-1269).

On the fourteenth day before the Kalends of April [1248] we visited the chapter of Rouen. We found that they talked in the choir, in violation of their rule. Clerks wandered about the church and chatted with women while the service was going on. They did not observe the rule in regard to entering the choir, and chanted the psalms too fast without making the pauses. . . . In short, they failed to observe many other of the rules, and their temporalities were badly managed.

As for the canons themselves, we found that Master Michael of Berciac was accused of incontinence, likewise Lord Benedict. Likewise Master William of Salmonville of incontinence, theft, and homicide. Likewise Master John of St. Laud of incontinence. Likewise Master Alain of frequenting taverns, drunkenness, and gaming. Likewise Peter of Auleige of carrying on business.

On the *nones* of May [1256] we visited the chapter of St. Firmat. There are fifteen secular canons and a prior there; six canons in residence. Firmin, the vicar of the prior, farms the prebends of the said canons. Morell, the choir clerk, is a rough fellow (*percussor*). Regnaud of Stampis is accused of incontinence, and has a boy with him whom he supports. Bartholomew, the vicar of the cantor, sometimes gets drunk and then does not get up to matins. Roger, one of the canons, occasionally frequents taverns. John, the vicar of the dean, is a tipsy fellow. We accordingly admonished Bartholomew, the cantor's vicar, for his drinking, and likewise John, the dean's vicar, and Roger, the canon, for going to the tavern, and Regnaud of Stampis for his licentiousness, and bade the said Bartholomew, John, Roger, and Regnaud to avoid these offenses. Likewise we ordered that Morell, the choir clerk, who was given to striking and evil speaking, should be corrected as he deserved, and also Firmin, the vicar, for farming the prebends, else we should come down upon them with a heavy hand.

On the Kalends of May [1258] we visited the nunnery of St. Savior. There were sixty-three nuns. They did not have books enough: we ordered that these should be

procured. The rule of silence was not properly observed: we commanded that it should be. We admonished them to go to confession every month. We enjoined that they should not keep dogs, birds, or squirrels, and should send away those that they had. Each nun has a chest of her own. We ordered the abbess to see what these contained, and that she should have them opened, and that the iron fastenings should be removed. When they receive new gowns they do not return the old ones. We ordered that no nun should dare to give away her old gown without the permission of the abbess.

Frequently, however, the nuns were accused of far more grievous sins than keeping squirrels and having each a locked chest, and the reports of the condition of the parish priests are as bad as those which relate to the monks and canons.

One of the functions of the bishop was to determine whether the candidates presented to livings by the feudal patrons were proper persons for the position, — whether they knew Latin enough to read the service, and whether they could chant.

The same day, namely the Tuesday before Pentecost, we examined Godfrey, a clerk who had been presented to the church of St. Richard of Herecourt, on the passage, *Omnia autem aperta et nuda sunt eius oculis* ["All things are naked and open unto the eyes of him"]. Asked what part of speech *aperta* was, he replied "a noun." Asked whether it could be any other part, he replied, "Yes, a participle." Asked from what word it was derived, he answered, "From the verb *aperio*, *aperis*, *aperii*, *aperire*, *aperior*, *aperieris*," etc. . . . Asked what *pateo* meant, he said "to open" or "to suffer." Asked what part of speech *absque* was, he said it was a conjunction; asked of what kind, he said causal. Examined in singing, it proved that he could not sing without notes and even then discordantly. We therefore, both

on account of these deficiencies and on account of the fact that he was accused of incontinence and quarrelsomeness, judged that our examination showed that he was not a suitable person to whom to give the church.

III. The Waldensian and Albigensian Heretics

150. Waldo of Lyons, the founder of the Waldensians. (From an anonymous chronicle written about 1218.)

And during the same year, that is the 1173d since the Lord's Incarnation, there was at Lyons in France a certain citizen, Waldo by name, who had made himself much money by wicked usury. One Sunday, when he had joined a crowd which he saw gathered around a troubadour, he was smitten by his words and, taking him to his house, he took care to hear him at length. The passage he was reciting was how the holy Alexis died a blessed death in his father's house. When morning had come the prudent citizen hurried to the schools of theology to seek counsel for his soul, and when he was taught many ways of going to God, he asked the master what way was more certain and more perfect than all others. The master answered him with this text: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast," etc.

Then Waldo went to his wife and gave her the choice of keeping his personal property or his real estate, namely, what he had in ponds, groves and fields, houses, rents, vineyards, mills, and fishing rights. She was much displeased at having to make this choice, but she kept the real estate. From his personal property he made restitution to those whom he had treated unjustly; a great part of it he gave to his two little daughters, who, without their mother's knowledge, he placed in the convent of Font Evrard; but the greatest part of his money he spent for the poor. A very great famine was then oppressing France and Germany. The prudent citizen, Waldo, gave bread, with vegetables and meat, to every one who came to him for three days in every week from Pentecost to the feast of St. Peter's bonds.

At the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, casting some money among the village poor, he cried, "No man can serve

two masters, God and mammon." Then his fellow-citizens ran up, thinking he had lost his mind. But going on to a higher place, he said: "My fellow-citizens and friends, I am not insane, as you think, but I am avenging myself on my enemies, who made me a slave, so that I was always more careful of money than of God, and served the creature rather than the Creator. I know that many will blame me that I act thus openly. But I do it both on my own account and on yours; on my own, so that those who see me henceforth possessing any money may say that I am mad, and on yours, that you may learn to place hope in God and not in riches."

On the next day, coming from the church, he asked a certain citizen, once his comrade, to give him something to eat, for God's sake. His friend, leading him to his house, said, "I will give you whatever you need as long as I live." When this came to the ears of his wife, she was not a little troubled, and as though she had lost her mind, she ran to the archbishop of the city and implored him not to let her husband beg bread from any one but her. This moved all present to tears.

[Waldo was accordingly conducted into the presence of the bishop.] And the woman, seizing her husband by the coat, said, "Is it not better, husband, that I should redeem my sins by giving you alms than that strangers should do so?" And from that time he was not allowed to take food from any one in that city except from his wife.

151. Description of the Albigenses. (From the *Inquisitor's Guide* of Bernard of Gui, early fourteenth century.)

An experienced inquisitor thus describes the Albigenses:

It would take too long to describe in detail the manner in which these same Manichæan heretics preach and teach their followers, but it must be briefly considered here.

In the first place, they usually say of themselves that they are good Christians, who do not swear, or lie, or speak evil of others; that they do not kill any man or animal, nor anything having the breath of life, and that they hold the faith

of the Lord Jesus Christ and his gospel as Christ and his apostles taught. They assert that they occupy the place of the apostles, and that, on account of the above-mentioned things, they of the Roman Church, namely the prelates, clerks, and monks, and especially the inquisitors of heresy, persecute them and call them heretics, although they are good men and good Christians, and that they are persecuted just as Christ and his apostles were by the Pharisees.

Moreover they talk to the laity of the evil lives of the clerks and prelates of the Roman Church, pointing out and setting forth their pride, cupidity, avarice, and uncleanness of life, and such other evils as they know. They invoke, with their own interpretation and according to their abilities, the authority of the Gospels and the Epistles against the condition of the prelates, churchmen, and monks, whom they call Pharisees and false prophets, who say, but do not.

Then they attack and vituperate, in turn, all the sacraments of the Church, especially the sacrament of the eucharist, saying that it cannot contain the body of Christ, for had this been as great as the largest mountain Christians would have entirely consumed it before this. They assert that the host comes from straw, that it passes through the tails of horses, to wit, when the flour is cleaned by a sieve (of horse hair); that, moreover, it passes through the body and comes to a vile end, which, they say, could not happen if God were in it.

Of baptism, they assert that water is material and corruptible, and is therefore the creation of the evil power and cannot sanctify the soul, but that the churchmen sell this water out of avarice, just as they sell earth for the burial of the dead, and oil to the sick when they anoint them, and as they sell the confession of sins as made to the priests.

Albigenses deny the efficacy of the sacraments in polluted hands.

Hence they claim that confession made to the priests of the Roman Church is useless, and that, since the priests may be sinners, they cannot loose nor bind, and, being unclean themselves, cannot make others clean. They assert, moreover, that the cross of Christ should not be adored or venerated, because, as they urge, no one would venerate or

adore the gallows upon which a father, relative, or friend had been hung. They urge, further, that they who adore the cross ought, for similar reasons, to worship all thorns and lances, because as Christ's body was on the cross during the passion, so was the crown of thorns on his head and the soldier's lance in his side. They proclaim many other scandalous things in regard to the sacraments.

Moreover they read from the Gospels and the Epistles in the vulgar tongue, applying and expounding them in their favor and against the condition of the Roman Church in a manner which it would take too long to describe in detail; but all that relates to this subject may be read more fully in the books they have written and infected, and may be learned from the confessions of such of their followers as have been converted.

IV. The Efficacy of the Sacraments in Polluted Hands

It was natural that the Church should maintain that even though a priest led an evil private life he could still celebrate the sacraments as efficiently as a righteous person, just as now we do not consider that the bad private character of a government official invalidates in any way his official acts.

152. The efficacy of the sacraments in the hands of bad priests. (From Pilichdorfer's *Against the Waldenses*; written about 1444.)

Since the sin of adultery does not take from a king the royal dignity, if otherwise he is a good prince who righteously executes justice in the earth, so neither can it take the sacerdotal dignity from the priest, if otherwise he performs the sacraments rightly and preaches the word of God. Who doubts that a licentious king is more noble than a chaste knight, although not more holy? . . . No one can doubt that Nathaniel was more holy than Judas Iscariot; nevertheless Judas was more noble on account of the apostleship of the Lord, to which Judas and not Nathaniel was called.

But thou, heretic,[1] wilt say: "Christ said to his disciples, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them'; therefore the priest who does not receive the Holy Ghost because he is wicked cannot absolve." Even if a wicked priest has neither charity nor the Holy Ghost as a private man, nevertheless his priesthood is worthy as far as the efficacy of the sacraments goes, though he himself may be unworthy of the priesthood. . . .

For example, a red rose is equally red in the hands of an emperor or of a dirty old woman; likewise a carbuncle in the hand of a king or of a peasant; and my servant cleans the stable just as well with a rusty iron hoe as with a golden one adorned with gems. No one doubts that in the time of Elijah there were many swans in the world, but the Lord did not feed the prophet by swans, but by a black crow. It might have been pleasanter for him to have had a swan, but he was just as well fed by a crow. And though it may be pleasanter to drink nectar from a golden goblet than from an earthen vessel, the draught intoxicates just the same, wherever it comes from.

V. Attitude of the Civil Government toward Heretics

The following document is a good example of the cordial manner in which the temporal rulers coöperated with the Church in the detection and punishment of heresy, which was universally regarded as the most horrible of crimes (see above, p. 364). It is taken from the laws of the enlightened Frederick II of Hohenstaufen.[2]

The heretics endeavor to rend the seamless garment of our Lord, and in accordance with their vicious name, which

[1] The Waldensians against whom the writer is arguing, maintained, as did the Albigenses (see above, p. 382) that only good priests could administer the sacraments so that they would benefit the sinners.

[2] Extracts from the laws in France and Germany relating to heretics will be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. III, No. 6.

153. Concerning heretics. (From the laws issued by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, for Sicily, about 1235.)

means division, they would destroy the unity of that same indivisible faith. They would withdraw the sheep from Peter's guardianship, to which they were intrusted by the Good Shepherd. They are ravening wolves within, but feign a love for the flock, until they shall have crept into the Lord's fold. They are bad angels, sons of perversity, appointed by the father of lies and deception to mislead the simple-minded. They are serpents who deceive the doves. Like serpents they creep stealthily abroad; with honeyed sweetness they vomit forth their virus. While they pretend to offer life-giving food they strike with their tail, and prepare a deadly draught, as with some dire poison.

These sects do not assume the old names lest they should be recognized, but, what is perhaps more heinous, not content like the Arians, who took their name from Arius, or the Nestorians, from Nestorius, and others of the same class, they must imitate the example of the martyrs who suffered death for the Catholic faith. They call themselves Patarins, as if they, too, were sufferers.[1]

These same wretched Patarins, who refuse to accept the holy belief in the eternal Trinity, combine three offenses in their wickedness. They offend God, their neighbor, and themselves, — God, since they refuse to place their faith in him or recognize his Son; their fellow-men, since they deceive them by offering them the seductions of a perverse heresy under the form of spiritual nurture. Against themselves they rage even more fiercely, for, prodigal of life and careless of death, in addition to the sacrifice of their souls, they involve their bodies in the toils of a horrible end, which they might avoid by acknowledging the truth and adhering to the true faith. What is worst of all, the survivors are not terrified by such examples.

Against these, who offend alike against God, themselves, and their fellow-men, we cannot restrain ourselves, and must draw forth the sword of merited retribution. We pursue

[1] The name Patarin, which seems here to be derived from the Latin word *patior*, to suffer, appears to have been given to the Cathari of Milan because they lived among the ragpickers (*patari*).

them the more closely inasmuch as they are known, to the obvious prejudice of the Christian faith, to extend the crimes of their superstition toward the Roman church, which is regarded as the head of all other churches. Thus from the confines of Italy, especially from parts of Lombardy, where we are convinced that their wickedness is widespread, we now find rivulets of their perfidy reaching even to our kingdom of Sicily.

Feeling this most acutely, we decree, in the first place, that the crime of heresy and of reprehensible teaching, of whatever kind, by whatever name its adherents may be known, shall, as provided by the older laws, be included among the recognized crimes. (For should not what is recognized to be an offense against the Divine Majesty be judged more terrible than the crime of leze majesty directed against ourself, although in the eyes of the law one is not graver than the other?) As the crime of treason deprives the guilty of life and property, and even blackens the memory of the dead, so in the aforesaid crimes of which the Patarins are guilty, we wish the same rules to be observed in all respects.

And in order that the wickedness of those who walk in darkness, since they do not follow God, should be thoroughly exterminated, we desire that those who practice this class of crimes should, like other malefactors, be diligently sought for and hunted out by our officers. If such be discovered, even if there be only the slightest suspicion of their guilt, we command that they shall be examined by churchmen and prelates. If they shall be found by these to have deviated from the Catholic faith, even in a single respect, and if, when admonished by such churchmen in their function of pastors, they refuse by leaving the wiles of the devil to recognize the God of light, and stubbornly adhere to their error, we command, by this our present edict, that such condemned Patarins shall suffer the death they court; that, condemned to the sentence of the flames, they shall be burned alive in the sight of the people. Nor are we loath to satisfy their cravings in this respect, for they only suffer the penalty of their crime and reap no further gain. No one

shall dare to intercede with us for any such, and should any one presume to do this, we shall properly direct the darts of our indignation against him, too. . . .

Penalties for those who harbor or aid heretics.

All who shall receive, trust, aid, or abet the Patarins in any way, seeking to shield others from a penalty which they rashly do not fear for themselves, shall be deprived of all their goods and banished forever. Their sons shall thereafter be excluded from all honors whatsoever and shall be branded with perpetual disgrace. They shall not be permitted to act as witnesses in any case, but shall be rejected as infamous.

Premium on delation.

But if any one of the sons of such harborers or fautors shall point out a Patarin, whose guilt shall be thus proven, he shall, by the imperial clemency, be freed from the opprobrium and restored to his full rights, in view of the good faith which he has shown.

VI. Life and Character of St. Francis

154. How St. Francis came to undertake his mission. (From the first *Life of St. Francis*, by Thomas of Celano, written in 1228; condensed.)

Until his twentieth year Francis wretchedly wasted his days. He astonished every one, for he sought to exceed all others in pomp and vain display. He was full of jests, quips, and light words; he dressed in soft flowing garments, for he was very rich; yet he was not avaricious, only prodigal, and squandered instead of saving his money. He was withal a man of gentle manner, friendly and very courteous.

In the midst of the joys and sins of his youth suddenly the divine vengeance, or grace, came upon him, which began to recall him to the right way by bringing anguish to his mind and suffering to his body, according to the saying of the prophet, "Behold, I will hedge up thy way with thorns, and I will encompass it with afflictions." When he had long been afflicted by bodily sickness — as the sinful man merits, since he will not amend his ways except by punishment — he began to turn his thoughts to other things than had been his wont.

When he had somewhat mended, he once more wandered about the house, supported by a staff, in order to hasten his

recovery. One day he went out of doors and looked thoughtfully over the neighboring plain; but the beauty of the fields and their pleasantness, and all things whatsoever that are lovely to the sight, in no way delighted him. He marveled at the sudden change in himself, and those who still loved the things that he had formerly loved seemed to him most foolish.

From that day it came to pass that he seemed worthless in his own sight, and did hold in a certain contempt those things that he was used to hold in admiration and love. He would fain conform his will to the divine will, and so he withdrew himself for a season from worldly business and tumult and sought to store away Jesus Christ within his soul.

[Together with a certain man of Assisi who did love him greatly, he was used to go apart into the country.] Now there was near the city a certain grotto and thither they often went. Francis, the man of God, who now was blessed with a holy purpose, would enter into the grotto whilst his companion awaited him without. There he did pray fervently that the eternal and true God would direct his way and would teach him to do his will. His soul glowed with divine fire and he could not hide the brightness of his spirit. And he repented him because he had sinned so grievously and had offended in the eyes of the Divine Majesty.

On a certain day when he had most earnestly besought the mercy of God, it was made known to him by the Lord what he should do. Therefore he was filled with so great gladness that he could not keep from rejoicing inwardly, and yet he would not make known unto men anything concerning this joy. But so great was the love kindled within him that he could not be wholly silent, so he spoke somewhat cautiously and in parables and told his companions how that he would do noble and mighty deeds. They asked him, saying, "Wilt thou marry a wife, Francis?" Who, answering, saith, "I will marry a wife more noble and fairer than ever ye saw, and this spotless bride is the true religion of God."

Ever had he been the benefactor of the poor, but from this time he resolved more firmly in his heart to deny no poor man anything who asked of him in the name of the Lord. Thenceforth whensoever he walked abroad and a beggar asked alms of him, if he had money he gave it to him. If he had no money, then he went apart into some hidden place and took off his shirt and sent it to the beggar secretly.

After some days, as he was passing by the church of St. Damian, it was revealed to him in the spirit that he should go in and pray. When he had entered and had begun to pray fervently before a certain crucifix, lo, the Christ upon the cross spoke to him kindly and lovingly, saying, "Francis, do you not see that my house is destroyed? Go then and repair it for me." Trembling and astounded, he answered, "That will I gladly do, Lord." For he thought that our Lord did speak of the church of St. Damian, which, because of its too great age, was like to fall into decay. So Francis straightway sought out the priest and gave him a certain sum of money that he might buy oil for the lamp before the crucifix. From that hour was his heart softened and wounded by the memory of our Lord's passion, so that even while he lived he did bear in his heart the stigmata of the Lord Jesus. . . .

[Now Francis, from this time, did long to give all things that he had to the Lord;] so this blessed servant of the Most High took some pieces of cloth that he might sell them, and went forth mounted upon his horse and arrived straightway at the city called Foligno. There did the happy merchant sell all the goods that he had, and did even part with his horse when a price was offered for him. Then he took his way toward Assisi, and he passed by the way the church of St. Damian. The new soldier of Christ straightway entered the church and sought out a certain poor priest, and with reverence did kiss his hands and then offered to him all the money that he had. . . .

[Rejoicing in the Lord, he lingered in the church of St. Damian.] His father, hearing of these things, gathered together his friends and neighbors and made all speed

possible to the place where the servant of God was abiding. Then he, because he was but a new champion of Christ, when he heard the threats of vengeance, did hide himself in a certain secret cave and there did lie concealed for a month. Fasting and praying, he did entreat the mercy of the Saviour; and though he lay in a pit and in the shadow of death, yet was he filled with a certain unutterable joy, unhoped for until now. All aglow with this gladness, he left the cave and exposed himself openly to the abuses of his persecutors. . . . Armed with the shield of faith and the armor of trust, he took his way to the city. All who knew him did deride him and called him insane and a madman, and pelted him with the mud of the streets and with stones.

The father of the blessed Francis, when he learned that his son was ridiculed in the open streets, first strove by abuse to turn him from his chosen way. When he could not thus prevail over him, he desired the servant of God to renounce all his inheritance. That this might be done, he brought the blessed Francis before the bishop of Assisi. At this Francis did greatly rejoice and hastened with a willing heart to fulfill his father's demands.

When he had come before the bishop he did not delay, nor did he suffer others to hinder him. Indeed, he waited not to be told what he should do, but straightway did take off his garments and cast them away and gave them back to his father; and he stood all naked before the people. But the bishop took heed of his spirit and was filled with exceeding great wonder at his zeal and steadfastness; so he gathered him in his arms and covered him with the cloak which he wore. Behold now had he cast aside all things which are of this world.

The holy one, lover of all humility, did then betake himself to the lepers and abode with them most tenderly for the love of God. He washed away all the putrid matter from them, and even cleansed the blood and all that came forth from the ulcers, as he himself spake in his will: "When I was yet in my sins it did seem to me too bitter to look upon

the lepers, but the Lord himself did lead me among them and I had compassion upon them."

Now upon a certain day, in the church of Santa Maria Portiuncula, the gospel was read — how that the Lord sent forth his disciples to preach. It was while they did celebrate the solemn mystery of the mass, and the blessed one of God stood by and would fain understand the sacred words. So he did humbly ask the priest that the gospel might be expounded unto him. Then the priest set it forth plainly to him, and the blessed Francis heard how the disciples were to have neither gold, nor silver, nor money, nor purse, nor script, nor bread, not to carry any staff upon the road, not to have shoes nor two coats, but to preach repentance and the spirit of God, rejoicing always in the spirit of God.

Then said the blessed Francis, "This is what I long for, this is what I seek, this is what I desire to do from the bottom of my heart." And he was exceeding rich in joy, and did hasten to fulfill the blessed words that he had heard. He did not suffer any hindrance to delay him, but did earnestly begin to do that which he had heard. Forthwith he did loose the shoes from his feet, and did lay down the staff from out his hands, and was content with one tunic, and changed his girdle for a rope. Then with great fervor of spirit and joy of mind he began to preach repentance to all men. He used simple speech, yet by his noble heart did he strengthen those who heard him. His word was as a flaming fire, and found a way into the depths of all hearts.

155. St. Francis' sermon to the birds. (From *Thomas of Celano.*)

The most blessed Father Francis once made his way through the valley of Spoleto, and he came to a place near Bevagna where birds of divers kinds had gathered together in a great multitude, — crows, doves, and others which are called, in the vulgar tongue, bullfinches. Now Francis, most blessed servant of God, was a man full of zeal and moved to tenderness and gentleness toward all creatures, even those that be lowly and without reason. So when he had seen the

birds he did run to them quickly, leaving his companions upon the way.

When he had come near to them he saw that they awaited him, and he made salutation, as he was wont to do. Wondering not a little that they did not take flight, as is the habit of birds, he begged them humbly, yet with great joy, that they would hear the word of God. And among many things which he said unto them was this which follows: "My brother birds, greatly should ye praise your Creator and always serve him, because he gave you feathers to wear, wings to fly, and whatsoever ye needed. He exalted you among his creatures and made for you a mansion in the pure air. Although ye sow not, neither reap, none the less he protects you and guides you, and ye have not any care."

At this the birdlings — so one said who was with him — began to stretch out their necks and raise their wings, to open their mouths, and to look upon him. He went and came, passing through the midst of them, and his tunic touched their heads and bodies. Then he blessed them, and made the sign of the cross, and gave them leave to fly to other places.

156. The will of St. Francis.

Francis left no more important memorial of himself and his ideals than his will, dictated by him shortly before his death.

God gave it to me, Brother Francis, to begin to do penance in the following manner: when I was yet in my sins it did seem to me too bitter to look upon the lepers, but the Lord himself did lead me among them, and I had compassion upon them. When I left them, that which had seemed to me bitter had become sweet and easy.

A little while after I left the world, and God gave me such faith that I would kneel down with simplicity in any of his churches, and I would say, "We adore thee, Lord Jesus Christ, here and in all thy churches which are in the world, and we bless thee that by thy holy cross thou hast ransomed the world."

Afterward the Lord gave me, and still gives me, so great a faith in priests who live according to the form of the holy Roman Church, because of their sacerdotal character, that even if they persecuted me I would have recourse to them, and even though I had all the wisdom of Solomon, if I should find poor secular priests, I would not preach in their parishes against their will. I desire to respect them like all the others, to love them and honor them as my lords. I will not consider their sins, for in them I see the Son of God, and they are my lords. I do this because here below I see nothing, I perceive nothing corporeally of the most high Son of God, except his most holy body and blood, which the priests receive and alone distribute to others.

I desire above all things to honor and venerate all these most holy mysteries and to keep them precious. Wherever I find the sacred names of Jesus, or his words, in unsuitable places, I desire to take them away and put them in some decent place; and I pray that others may do the same. We ought to honor and revere all the theologians and those who preach the most holy word of God, as dispensing to us spirit and life.

A reference to Francis' first Rule.

When the Lord gave me the care of some brothers, no one showed me what I ought to do, but the Most High himself revealed to me that I ought to live according to the model of the holy gospel. I caused a short and simple formula to be written, and the lord pope confirmed it for me.

Those who presented themselves to follow this kind of life distributed all they might have to the poor. They contented themselves with one tunic, patched within and without, with the cord and breeches, and we desired to have nothing more. The clerics said the office like other clerics, and the laymen repeated the paternoster.

We loved to live in poor and abandoned churches, and we were ignorant, and were submissive to all. I worked with my hands and would still do so, and I firmly desire also that all the other brothers work, for this makes for goodness. Let those who know no trade learn one, but not for the purpose of

receiving the price of their toil, but for their good example and to flee idleness. And when we are not given the price of our work, let us resort to the table of the Lord, begging our bread from door to door. The Lord revealed to me the salutation which we ought to give: "God give you peace!"

Let the brothers take great care not to accept churches, habitations, or any buildings erected for them, except as all is in accordance with the holy poverty which we have vowed in the Rule; and let them not live in them except as strangers and pilgrims. I absolutely interdict all the brothers, in whatsoever place they may be found, from asking any bull from the court of Rome, whether directly or indirectly, in the interest of church or convent, or under pretext of preaching, nor even for the protection of their bodies. If they are not received anywhere, let them go of themselves elsewhere, thus doing penance with the benediction of God.

I firmly desire to obey the minister general of this brotherhood, and the guardian whom he may please to give me. I desire to put myself entirely into his hands, to go nowhere and do nothing against his will, for he is my lord. Though I be simple and ill, I would, however, have always a clerk who will perform the office, as it is said in the Rule. Let all the other brothers also be careful to obey their guardians and to do the office according to the Rule.

If it come to pass that there are any who do not the office according to the Rule, and who desire to make any other change, or if they are not Catholics, let all the brothers, wherever they may be, be bound by obedience to present them to the nearest custodian. Let the custodians be bound by obedience to keep such a one well guarded, like a man who is in bonds, day and night, so that he may not escape from their hands until they personally place him in the minister's hands. And let the minister be bound by obedience to send him, by brothers who will guard him as a prisoner day and night, until they shall have placed him in the hands of the lord bishop of Ostia, who is the lord protector, and the corrector of all the brotherhood.

And let the brothers not say, "This is a new Rule"; for this is only a reminder, a warning, an exhortation; it is my last will and testament, that I, little Brother Francis, make for you, my blessed brothers, in order that we may observe in a more Catholic way the Rule which we promised the Lord to keep.

Let the ministers general, all the other ministers, and the custodians be held by obedience to add nothing to and take nothing away from these words. Let them always keep this writing near them beside the Rule; and in all the assemblies which shall be held, when the Rule is read, let these words be read also.

I interdict absolutely by obedience all the brothers, clerics and laymen, to introduce comments in the Rule, or in this will, under pretext of explaining it. But since the Lord has given me to speak and to write the Rule and these words in a clear and simple manner, so do you understand them in the same way without commentary, and put them in practice until the end.

And whoever shall have observed these things, may he be crowned in heaven with the blessings of the heavenly Father, and on earth with those of his well-beloved Son and of the Holy Spirit, the Consoler, with the assistance of all the heavenly virtues and all the saints.

And I, little Brother Francis, your servitor, confirm to you, so far as I am able, this most holy benediction. Amen.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE PEOPLE IN COUNTRY AND TOWN

I. The Manor and its People[1]

The following official accounts of two English manors and their people give a good idea of the condition of the serfs in general.

157. Official description of a manor belonging to Peterborough Abbey (*ca.* 1125).

In Wermington are 7 hides at the taxation of the king. And of this land 20 full villeins and 29 half-villeins hold 34 virgates[2] and a half; and for these the full villeins work 3 days a week through the year; and the half-tenants as much as corresponds to their tenancies. And these men have in all 16 plows, and they plow 68 acres and a half and besides this they do 3 boon-works with their plows, and they ought to bring from the woods 34 wagonloads of wood. And all these men pay £4 11s. 4d.; and at the love feast of St. Peter, 10 rams and 400 loaves and 40 platters and 34 hens and 260 eggs. And there are 8 socmen who have 6 plows. In the demesne of the court are 4 plows and 32 oxen and 9 cows and 5 calves and 1 riding horse and 129 sheep and 61 swine and 1 draught horse and 1 colt. And there is 1 mill with 1 virgate of land, and 6 acres which pays 60s. and 500 eels. And Ascelin, the clerk, holds the church with 2 virgates of land, from the altar of St. Peter of Borough. Robert, son of Richard, has 2 virgates and a half. In this vill 100 sheep can be placed.

[1] I am indebted for the illustrations used in this section on the manor and in the one which follows on the towns, to Professor Cheyney's admirable selection of documents in the *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 1, and Vol. III, No. 5.

[2] A virgate appears to have varied greatly in extent.

158. A manor in Sussex (1307).

Extent of the manor of Bernehorne, made on Wednesday following the feast of St. Gregory the pope, in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Edward, in the presence of Brother Thomas, keeper of Marley, John de la More, and Adam de Thruhlegh, clerks, on the oath of William de Gocecoumbe, Walter le Parker, Richard le Knyst, Richard the son of the latter, Andrew of Estone, Stephen Morsprich, Thomas Brembel, William of Swynham, John Pollard, Roger le Glide, John Syward, and John de Lillingewist, who say that there are all the following holdings: . . .

John Pollard holds a half acre in Aldithewisse and owes 18d. at the four terms, and owes for it relief and heriot.

John Suthinton holds a house and 40 acres of land and owes 3s. 6d. at Easter and Michaelmas.

William of Swynham holds 1 acre of meadow in the thicket of Swynham and owes 1d. at the feast of Michaelmas.

Ralph of Leybourne holds a cottage and 1 acre of land in Pinden and owes 3s. at Easter and Michaelmas, and attendance at the court in the manor every three weeks, also relief and heriot.

Richard Knyst of Swynham holds 2 acres and a half of land and owes yearly 4s.

William of Knelle holds 2 acres of land in Aldithewisse and owes yearly 4s.

Roger le Glede holds a cottage and 3 roods of land and owes 2s. 6d. at Easter and Michaelmas.

Alexander Hamound holds a little piece of land near Aldewisse and owes 1 goose of the value of 2d.

The sum of the whole rent of the free tenants, with the value of the goose, is 18s. 9d.

Complicated services rendered for a house and 30 acres of land.

They say, moreover, that John of Cayworth holds a house and 30 acres of land, and owes yearly 2s. at Easter and Michaelmas; and he owes a cock and two hens at Christmas of the value of 4d.

And he ought to harrow for 2 days at the Lenten sowing with one man and his own horse and his own harrow, the value of the work being 4d.; and he is to receive from the lord on each day 3 meals, of the value of 5d., and then

the lord will be at a loss of 1d. Thus his harrowing is of no value to the service of the lord.

And he ought to carry the manure of the lord for 2 days with one cart, with his own 2 oxen, the value of the work being 8d.; and he is to receive from the lord each day 3 meals at the value as above. And thus the service is worth 3d. clear.

And he shall find one man for 2 days, for mowing the meadow of the lord, who can mow, by estimation, 1 acre and a half, the value of the mowing of an acre being 6d.: the sum is therefore 9d. And he is to receive each day 3 meals of the value given above. And thus that mowing is worth 4d. clear.

And he ought to gather and carry that same hay which he has cut, the price of the work being 3d.

And he shall have from the lord 2 meals for 1 man, of the value of 1½d. Thus the work will be worth 1½d. clear.

And he ought to carry the hay of the lord for 1 day with a cart and 3 animals of his own, the price of the work being 6d. And he shall have from the lord 3 meals of the value of 2½d. And thus the work is worth 3½d. clear.

And he ought to carry in autumn beans or oats for 2 days with a cart and 3 animals of his own, the value of the work being 12d. And he shall receive from the lord each day 3 meals of the value given above. And thus the work is worth 7d. clear.

And he ought to carry wood from the woods of the lord as far as the manor, for two days in summer, with a cart and 3 animals of his own, the value of the work being 9d. And he shall receive from the lord each day 3 meals of the price given above. And thus the work is worth 4d. clear.

And he ought to find 1 man for 2 days to cut heath, the value of the work being 4d., and he shall have 3 meals each day of the value given above: and thus the lord will lose, if he receives the service, 3d. Thus that mowing is worth nothing to the service of the lord.

And he ought to carry the heath which he has cut, the value of the work being 5d. And he shall receive from the

lord 3 meals at the price of 2½d. And thus the work will be worth 2½d. clear.

And he ought to carry to Battle, twice in the summer season, each time half a load of grain, the value of the service being 4d. And he shall receive in the manor each time 1 meal of the value of 2d. And thus the work is worth 2d. clear.

The totals of the rents, with the value of the hens, is 2s. 4d.

The total of the value of the works is 2s. 3½d., owed from the said John yearly.

William of Cayworth holds a house and 30 acres of land and owes at Easter and Michaelmas 2s. rent. And he shall do all customs just as the aforesaid John of Cayworth.

William atte Grene holds a house and 30 acres of land and owes in all things the same as the said John.

Alan atte Felde holds a house and 16 acres of land (for which the sergeant pays to the court of Bixley 2s.), and he owes at Easter and Michaelmas 4s., attendance at the manor court, relief, and heriot.

John Lyllingwyst holds a house and 4 acres of land and owes at the two terms 2s., attendance at the manor court, relief, and heriot.

The same John holds 1 acre of land in the fields of Hoo and owes at the two periods 2s., attendance, relief, and heriot.

Reginald atte Denne holds a house and 18 acres of land and owes at the said periods 18d., attendance, relief, and heriot.

Robert of Northehou holds 3 acres of land at Saltcote and owes at the said periods attendance, relief, and heriot.

Total of the rents of the villeins, with the value of the hens, 20s.

Total of all the works of these three villeins, 6s. 10½d.

And it is to be noted that none of the above-named villeins can give their daughters in marriage, nor cause their sons to be tonsured, nor can they cut down timber growing on the lands they hold, without license of the bailiff or sergeant of the lord, and then for building purposes and not otherwise. And after the death of any one of the aforesaid villeins, the lord shall have as a heriot his best animal, if he

Nature of heriot.

had any; if, however, he have no living beast, the lord shall have no heriot, as they say. The sons or daughters of the aforesaid villeins shall give, for entrance into the holding after the death of their predecessors, as much as they give of rent per year. Amount of relief fixed.

Sylvester, the priest, holds 1 acre of meadow adjacent to his house and owes yearly 3s.

Total of the rent of tenants for life, 3s.

List of cottagers.

Petronilla atte Holme holds a cottage and a piece of land and owes at Easter and Michaelmas ——; also, attendance, relief, and heriot.

Walter Herying holds a cottage and a piece of land and owes at Easter and Michaelmas 18d., attendance, relief, and heriot.

Isabella Mariner holds a cottage and owes at the feast of St. Michael 12d., attendance, relief, and heriot.

Jordan atte Melle holds a cottage and 1½ acres of land and owes at Easter and Michaelmas 2s., attendance, relief, and heriot.

William of Batelesmere holds 1 acre of land with a cottage and owes at the feast of St. Michael 3d., and 1 cock and 1 hen at Christmas of the value of 3d., attendance, relief, and heriot.

John le Man holds half an acre of land with a cottage and owes at the feast of St. Michael 2s., attendance, relief, and heriot.

John Werthe holds 1 rood of land with a cottage and owes at the said term 18d., attendance, relief, and heriot.

Geoffrey Caumbreis holds half an acre and a cottage and owes at the said term 18d., attendance, relief, and heriot.

William Hassok holds 1 rood of land and a cottage and owes at the said term 18d., attendance, relief, and heriot.

The same man holds 3½ acres of land and owes yearly at the feast of St. Michael 3s. for all.

Roger Doget holds half an acre of land and a cottage, which were those of R. the miller, and owes at the feast of St. Michael 18d., attendance, relief, and heriot.

Thomas le Brod holds 1 acre and a cottage and owes at the said term 3s., attendance, relief, and heriot.

Agnes of Cayworth holds half an acre and a cottage and owes at the said term 18d., attendance, relief, and heriot. . . .

Total of the rents of the said cottagers, with the value of the hens, 34s. 6d.

And it is to be noted that all the said cottagers shall do as regards giving their daughters in marriage, having their sons tonsured, cutting down timber, paying heriot, and giving fines for entrance, just as John of Cayworth and the rest of the villeins above mentioned.

Note: Fines[1] and penalties, with heriots and reliefs, are worth yearly 5s.

The house described below must have been a pretty comfortable one for the time.

159. Description of an English manor house (1256).

He received also a sufficient and handsome hall well ceiled with oak. On the western side is a worthy bed, on the ground a stone chimney, a wardrobe, and a certain other small chamber; at the eastern end is a pantry and a buttery. Between the hall and the chapel is a side room. There is a decent chapel covered with tiles, a portable altar, and a small cross. In the hall are four tables on trestles. There are likewise a good kitchen well covered with tiles, with a furnace and ovens, one large, the other small, for cakes, two tables, and alongside the kitchen a small house for baking. Also a new granary covered with oak shingles, and a building in which the dairy is contained, though it is divided. Likewise a chamber suited for clergymen and a necessary chamber. Also a henhouse. These are within the inner gate.

Likewise outside of that gate are an old house for the servants, a good stable, long and divided, and to the east of the principal building, beyond the smaller stable, a solar for the use of the servants. Also a building in which is contained a bed; also two barns, one for wheat and one for oats. These buildings are enclosed with a moat, a wall, and

[1] Namely, payments to the lord by those who acquired land within the manor in any other way than by inheritance. The corresponding payment by those who inherited land was the "relief."

a hedge. Also beyond the middle gate is a good barn, and a stable for cows and another for oxen, these old and ruinous. Also beyond the outer gate is a pigsty.

The position of the serf is further illustrated by the provisions necessary to make him a free man.

160. Freeing of a serf (1278).

To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing shall come, Richard, by the divine permission abbot of Peterborough and of the Convent of the same place, eternal greeting in the Lord:

Let all know that we have manumitted and liberated from all yoke of servitude William, the son of Richard of Wythington, whom previously we have held as our born bondman, with his whole progeny and all his chattels, so that neither we nor our successors shall be able to require or exact any right or claim in the said William, his progeny, or his chattels. But the same William, with his whole progeny and all his chattels, shall remain free and quit and without disturbance, exaction, or any claim on the part of us or our successors by reason of any servitude forever.

We will, moreover, and concede that he and his heirs shall hold the messuages, land, rents, and meadows in Wythington which his ancestors held from us and our predecessors, by giving and performing the fine which is called *merchet* for giving his daughter in marriage, and tallage from year to year according to our will, — that he shall have and hold these for the future from us and our successors freely, quietly, peacefully, and hereditarily, by paying to us and our successors yearly 40s. sterling, at the four terms of the year, namely: at St. John the Baptist's day 10s., at Michaelmas 10s., at Christmas 10s., and at Easter 10s., for all service, exaction, custom, and secular demand; saving to us, nevertheless, attendance at our court of Castre every three weeks, wardship, and relief, and outside service of our lord the king, when they shall happen.

And if it shall happen that the said William or his heirs shall die at any time without an heir, the said messuage,

land, rents, and meadows with their appurtenances shall return fully and completely to us and our successors. Nor will it be allowed to the said William or his heirs to give, sell, alienate, mortgage, or encumber in any way, the said messuage, land, rents, meadows, or any part of them, by which the said messuage, land, rents, and meadows should not return to us and our successors in the form declared above. And if this should occur later, their deed shall be declared null, and what is thus alienated shall come to us and our successors. . . .

Given at Borough, for the love of Lord Robert of good memory, once abbot, our predecessor and maternal uncle of the said William, and at the instance of the good man, Brother Hugh of Mutton, relative of the said abbot Robert, A.D. 1278, on the eve of Pentecost.

II. The Mediæval Town

As the towns grew up, certain local *customs* came into existence. These were nothing more than the rules which the townspeople recognized as necessary to maintain order and prevent misunderstandings. They were not necessarily written down, as every one was supposed to be familiar with them. The commissioners of William the Conqueror judged it wise, however, to include in Domesday Book some forty of the town customs which involved the king's financial interests. The following provisions occur among those of Chester.

161. Customs of the town of Chester. (From Domesday Book.)

If any free man of the king broke the peace which had been granted, and killed a man in his house, all his land and money came to the king, and he himself became an outlaw.

He who shed blood between Monday morning and the ninth hour of Saturday compounded for it with ten shillings. From the ninth hour of Saturday to Monday morning bloodshed was compounded for with twenty shillings. Similarly any

one paid twenty shillings who shed blood in the twelve days after Christmas, on the day of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, on the first day after Easter, the first day of Pentecost, Ascension day, on the Assumption or Nativity of the Blessed Mary, and on the day of All Saints.

He who killed a man on these holy days compounded for it with four pounds; but on other days, with forty shillings. Similarly he who committed burglary or assault on those feast days or on Sunday, four pounds; on other days, forty shillings.

Any one setting prisoners free in the city gave ten shillings. But if the reeve of the king or of the earl committed this offense, he compounded for it with twenty shillings.

He who committed theft or robbery, or exercised violence upon a woman in a house, compounded for each of these with forty shillings.

He who in the city seized upon the land of another and was not able to prove it to be his was fined forty shillings. Similarly also he who made claim upon it, if he was not able to prove it to be his.

He who did not pay the tax at the period at which he owed it compounded for it with ten shillings.

If fire burned the city, he from whose house it started compounded for it with three oras of pennies, and gave to his next neighbor two shillings. Of all these forfeitures, two parts belonged to the king and the third to the earl.

A man or a woman making false measure in the city, and being arrested, compounded for it with four shillings. Similarly a person making bad ale was either placed in the ducking stool or gave four shillings to the reeve. This forfeiture the officer of the king and of the earl received in the city, in whosesoever land it has been done, either of the bishop or of another man. Similarly also, if any one held the toll back beyond three nights, he compounded for it with forty shillings.

In the time of King Edward there were in this city seven moneyers, who gave seven pounds to the king and the earl, besides the ferm, when the money was turned over.

This city paid at that time of ferm forty-five pounds and three bundles of martens' skins. The third part belonged to the earl, and two to the king.

When Earl Hugh received it, it was worth only thirty pounds, for it was much wasted. There were 205 fewer houses there than there had been in the time of King Edward. Now there are just as many there as he found.

When the king or lord granted a charter to a town which had grown up on his land, he usually explicitly legalized the guild of merchants, the members of which enjoyed the monopoly of the right to carry on trade. He then ratified, in whole or in part, the customs of the town, which were not however enumerated in detail. These documents are consequently usually short.

162. Opening of charter granted by Henry II to the city of Lincoln.

Henry, by the grace of God King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Count of Anjou, to the Bishop of Lincoln, justiciars, sheriffs, barons, officers, and all his faithful, French and English, of Lincoln, greeting:

Know that I have conceded to my citizens of Lincoln all their liberties and customs and laws, which they had in the time of Edward and William and Henry, kings of England; and their guild merchant of the men of the city and of other merchants of the county, just as they had it in the time of our aforesaid predecessors, kings of England, best and most freely.

163. The Earl of Chester's charter to the city of Chester (opening of the thirteenth century).

Ralph, Earl of Chester, to his constable and steward, and to all his barons and bailiffs, and to all his men, French and English, as well to come as at present, greeting:

Let it be known to all of you that I have given and conceded, and by this my present charter confirmed to all my citizens of Chester, their guild merchant, with all liberties and free customs which they have had in the aforesaid guild, best, most freely and most peacefully in the times of my predecessors. And I forbid under forfeiture to me

of ten pounds that any one shall disturb them in it. With these witnesses, etc.

The lists of rules established by the craft guilds, two examples of which are given below, cast much light on the industrial conditions and the habits of the mediæval artisans.

164. Articles of the spurriers of London (1345).

Be it remembered, that on Tuesday, the morrow of St. Peter's bonds, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Edward III, the articles underwritten were read before John Hammond, mayor, Roger de Depham, recorder, and the other aldermen; and seeing that the same were deemed befitting, they were accepted and enrolled in these words.

In the first place, that no one of the trade of spurriers shall work longer than from the beginning of the day until curfew rings out at the church of St. Sepulcher, without Newgate; by reason that no man can work so neatly by night as by day. And many persons of the said trade, who compass how to practice deception in their work, desire to work by night rather than by day; and then they introduce false iron, and iron that has been cracked, for tin, and also they put gilt on false copper, and cracked.

And further, many of the said trade are wandering about all day, without working at all at their trade; and then, when they have become drunk and frantic, they take to their work, to the annoyance of the sick, and all their neighborhood as well, by reason of the broils that arise between them and the strange folk who are dwelling among them. And then they blow up their fires so vigorously, that their forges begin all at once to blaze, to the great peril of themselves and of all the neighborhood around. And then, too, all the neighbors are much in dread of the sparks, which so vigorously issue forth in all directions from the mouths of the chimneys in their forges.

By reason thereof it seems unto them that working by night should be put an end to, in order to avoid such false work and such perils; and therefore the mayor and the

aldermen do will, by the assent of the good folk of the said trade and for the common profit, that from henceforth such time for working, and such false work made in the trade, shall be forbidden. And if any person shall be found in the said trade to do the contrary hereof, let him be amerced, the first time in forty pence, one half to go to the use of the Chamber of the Guildhall of London, and the other half to the use of the said trade; the second time, in half a mark; and the third time, in ten shillings, to the use of the same Chamber and trade; and the fourth time, let him forswear the trade forever.

Also, that no one of the said trade shall hang his spurs out on Sundays, or on any other days that are double feasts; but only a sign indicating his business; and such spurs as they shall so sell, they are to show and sell within their shops, without exposing them without or opening the doors or windows of their shops, on the pain aforesaid.

Also, that no one of the said trade shall keep a house or shop to carry on his business, unless he is free of the city; and that no one shall cause to be sold, or exposed for sale, any manner of old spurs for new ones, or shall garnish them or change them for new ones.

Also, that no one of the said trade shall take an apprentice for a less term than seven years, and such apprentice shall be enrolled according to the usages of the said city.

Also, that if any one of the said trade, who is not a freeman, shall take an apprentice for a term of years, he shall be amerced as aforesaid.

Also, that no one of the said trade shall receive the apprentice, serving man, or journeyman of another in the same trade, during the term agreed upon between his master and him, on the pain aforesaid.

Also, that no alien of another country, or foreigner of this country, shall follow or use the said trade, unless he is enfranchised before the mayor, aldermen, and chamberlain; and that, by witness and surety of the good folk of the said trade, who will go surety for him, as to his loyalty and his good behavior.

Also, that no one of the said trade shall work on Saturdays, after *nones* has been rung out in the city; and not from that hour until the Monday morning following.

165. Rules of the guild of white-tawyers.

In honour of God, of our Lady, and of All Saints, and for the nurture of tranquillity and peace among the good folk, the Megucers, called white-tawyers,[1] the folk of the same trade have, by assent of Richard Lacer, mayor, and of the Aldermen, ordained the points underwritten.

In the first place, they have ordained that they will furnish a wax candle, to burn before our Lady, in the church of All-hallows, near London wall.

Also, that each person of the said trade shall put in the box such sum as he shall think fit, in aid of maintaining the said candle.

Also, if by chance any of the said trade shall fall into poverty, whether through old age or because he cannot labor or work, and shall have nothing with which to keep himself, he shall have every week from the said box seven pence for his support, if he be a man of good repute. And after his decease, if he have a wife, a woman of good repute, she shall have weekly for her support seven pence from the said box, so long as she shall behave herself well and keep single.

And that no stranger shall work in the said trade, or keep a house for the same in the city, if he be not an apprentice, or a man admitted to the franchise of the said city.

And that no one shall take the serving man of another to work with him, during his term, unless it be with the permission of his master.

And if any one of the said trade shall have work in his house that he cannot complete, or if for want of assistance such work shall be in danger of being lost, those of the said trade shall aid him, that so the said work be not lost.

And if any one of the said trade shall depart this life, and have not withal to be buried, he shall be buried at the

[1] Those who dressed leather in such a way as to give it a white surface.

expense of their common box. And when any one of the said trade shall die, all those of the said trade shall go to the vigil, and make offering on the morrow. . . .

III. The Hanseatic League

Shortly after the death of Otto the Great, as the following document indicates, the merchants began to attract the attention of the government and develop the commerce which led, some centuries later, to the formation of the Hanseatic League.

166. Emperor Otto II promises protection to the merchants of Magdeburg (975).

Be it known to all our faithful subjects, now and in the future, that according to the desire of Adalbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, and the suggestions of other faithful subjects, we do grant to the merchants dwelling in Magdeburg, for themselves and their descendants, such protection as our father, of blessed memory, did in his time allow them to have. That is, that everywhere in our realm, in Christian and in barbarous lands, they shall be free to go and come unmolested.

And we do further by our imperial authority forbid that they be compelled to pay any taxes for cities, bridges, waters, and highways, except in the following places: Mayence, Cologne, Bardewic, and Tiel; and in these places no more nor greater taxes shall be exacted than by their laws they ought to pay. And if any one has the will, through enmity toward us, to destroy bridges or in any wise to impede the highways, let him know that such acts are forbidden by us on pain of our ban. And if any man shall think that this decree is of no effect, and shall dare to set at naught the above prohibitions, we command that whosoever is guilty of such insolence shall pay to our treasury ten talents of gold.

The federation of Westphalian towns described below indicates the dangers to which the merchants were exposed.

167. Münster, Dortmund, Soest, and Lippstadt form an alliance to protect their merchants (1253; condensed).

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, Amen. The magistrates, consuls, and the whole community of burghers and citizens in Münster, Dortmund, Soest, and Lippstadt, to all who may read this document, greeting:

We hereby make known to all men, now and in the future, that because of the manifold dangers to which we are constantly exposed, of capture, robbery, and many other injuries, we have, by common counsel and consent, decided to unite in a perpetual confederation under the following terms, and we have mutually given and received word and oath:

First, that if any man shall take captive one of our citizens or seize his goods without just cause, we will altogether deny to him opportunity to trade in all our cities aforesaid. And if the castellan of any lord shall be the author of an injury that has been done, the afore-mentioned privileges shall be altogether withheld from the lord of that castellan, and from all his soldiers and servants, and all others dwelling with him in his castle. . . .

If any robber has taken goods from one of our citizens . . . and the injured man shall go to any one of our [federated] cities seeking counsel and aid, in order that justice may be done upon the malefactor, the citizens of that city shall act as they would be obliged to act if executing justice for a similar crime committed against one of their own fellow-citizens.

And if any of our burgesses shall chance to go to any of our cities and fear to go forth because of peril to life and property, the burgesses of that city shall conduct him to a place whence his fellow-citizens can receive him in safety.

If a knight shall be denounced to us on reasonable grounds as a violator of faith and honor, we will denounce him in all our cities, and will by mutual consent withhold from him all privileges in our cities until he shall pay the whole debt for which he broke his word.

If any one of us shall buy goods taken from any of our confederates by theft or robbery, . . . he shall not offer the goods at retail anywhere and shall be held guilty with the thief and robber.

The following illustrates the way in which the Hansa towns negotiated with the city of London.

168. Agreement between the mayor and citizens of London and the merchants of the Hansa towns (1282; somewhat condensed).

In the tenth year of the reign of King Edward, son of Henry, Henry de Maleys being mayor of London, a contention arose between the mayor and citizens of London and the merchants of the German Hansa, concerning the gate called Bishopsgate, which was falling into ruin. For the mayor and citizens of London claimed that the merchants of the German Hansa were bound to repair this gate in return for the liberties granted to them; but the merchants said that they were not so bound.

Then the lord king of England, at the suggestion of the aforesaid mayor and citizens, wrote to his treasurer and the barons of the treasury, and commanded them to call together the contending parties and inquire into the facts of the matter; and if they should find that the said merchants were bound to keep this gate in repair, they should compel the Germans to rebuild it.

When the two parties came before the treasurer and barons, the merchants could show no cause wherefore they should not make the repairs in question, especially since it is clearly prescribed in the liberty which they have from the aforesaid city that they should make them. Therefore the treasurer and barons did enjoin the mayor and council aforesaid that they compel the merchants to repair the gate in question.

The merchants, Gerard Merbade, alderman of the Hansa, Ludolph of Cusfeld, burgher of Cologne, Bertram, burgher of Hamburg, John of Erest, burgher of Tremoine, John of Dalen, burgher of Münster, did, for themselves and all their associates of the Hansa then dwelling in the city, promise to pay to the mayor and citizens of London for the present repairs of the gate 240 marks sterling. Further they agreed that they and their successors, merchants of the Hansa, would at all times repair the aforesaid gate whenever it should be necessary; and that when need should arise to defend the gate, they would furnish a third part of the guard, to

hold it above, while the mayor and citizens furnished two thirds, to guard it below.

The mayor and citizens confirmed to the merchants . . . the liberties which they had possessed before this time, to be enjoyed by themselves and their successors forever. And, moreover, in consideration of the repairs and defense of the gate aforesaid, the citizens shall, so far as in them lies, hold their peace forever concerning the duty of watch and ward. . . .

The mayor and citizens agreed that the merchants should have their own alderman as in former times, so that the alderman be free of the city aforesaid; provided that, after his election by the merchants, he be presented to the mayor and aldermen of the city, and swear to do right and justice to every man, according to the law and custom of the city.

IV. Knights, Burghers, and Farmers

Although the various contracts and other legal documents, examples of which have been given, contain the most accurate information available in regard to the condition of the farmers and townspeople in the Middle Ages, we may get a livelier, and in some ways better, idea of the general situation from the fiction of the period. While this cannot be taken as history, such tales as those given below seem to give an essentially true and living picture of the attitude of the various classes of society toward one another.

Wolfram von Eschenbach (d. *ca.* 1225), the famous German minnesinger, narrates the adventures of William, count of Orange and margrave of Aquitaine, who, although he really lived in the eighth century, fares in Wolfram's tale as any knight might have done at the opening of the thirteenth, when Wolfram wrote.

William had to defend his possessions in southern France against the Saracens. Having carried off a Saracen princess, he was attacked by the infidels, defeated, and forced to hasten to the court of King Louis of France for assistance.

169. Knights and burghers in the early thirteenth century. (From Wolfram von Eschenbach's *William of Orange*, condensed.)

After some days — I know not how many — the bold hero came to Orleans. . . . In the morning he left his inn and fared forth into the city. Now there was in the town a man of power who held his head high because he wielded authority in the king's name. He tried to wreak causeless spite upon the margrave; but the knight gave him as good as he sent. "I go scot free of toll!" he cried. "There are no merchants' mares nor pack horses at my back. I am a knight, as you see. If you can ferret out no harm I have done to the land here, let that stand to my credit. I did not ride out of the road upon the harvest field; I kept to the beaten track, which is free to all the world. What I had need of to feed myself and my horse I have paid for."

But the magistrate and his men sternly ordered him to halt, and at the burgher's behest forthwith the people of the town came flocking from all sides. The magistrate cried, "This traveler must pay to the full a tax as great as the harm he has done." In sooth it was a shame that they did not let him go free. The magistrate called to his people, "Seize his bridle rein!" He answered: "My horse carries no load but only me and this shield. I 've had enough of this." Out flashed his sword, and the magistrate grew shorter by a head. Then the margrave hewed out a way through the crowd for man and steed, so hastily that soon the street was wide. The alarm bell began to sound.

Arnalt, son of the count of Narbonne, heard in his castle the doleful cries that rang through all the streets. Soon the magistrate's wife came to him and fell down on the ground before him. She made her moan: "The king is put to shame and I am undone. My husband lies in the market place, slain by one who travels without retinue. He fought

off all our people, and has gone hence unhindered. Woe is me! He has left us a grim trophy for toll on the king's highway."

To whom Count Arnalt: "Who can this be whose might has done ye this ill? Were he a merchant, woman, he must needs have a train and pay toll for his wares." Those who had come with the woman bore witness: "He carries a shield, his banner is flecked with rust, yet in all Frankland know we no knight whose armor is so costly and beautiful, like the sun's beam to look upon — and eke his doublet and his shield. As he put us to rout he cried wildly, 'Monjoie!'"

The count cried: "Cowards all! Did ye not even know it is not seemly to treat a knight like a tradesman? What should a knight give for toll? Ye durst not murmur if he took all your lives. Yet for the king's sake, whose crown my sister wears, I must after him."

With his knights, he armed and hastened after the margrave. A little way from the town they overtook him, and the count gave him battle. Both bore themselves bravely. They did not give over fighting until the count became aware that the stranger knight was his own brother. After a parley, Arnalt let William ride on to seek the king. Then the burghers clamored to know why he was suffereu to go free. To whom the count: "It is William, the margrave; I can in no wise suffer him to be killed here on French ground. The burghers of Orleans have borne themselves like clumsy boors. Ye dolts! How could my brother pay toll like a merchant? Even he who knows but ill the just dues of knights knows that he goes free of tax."

Meanwhile William rode on his way, and in due time reached Moulon. A great crowd was gathered there for a royal festival, and the knight could find no place to lodge. At last he went forth from the town. He took off his helmet and stretched himself on the grass beside the road. Then came a merchant from the town and begged him most courteously to do honor to all merchants by going to lodge with him. The merchant's name was Wimar, and he was born of knightly blood. He said, "If ye will but grant me this

boon to-day, all my fellows will tell afterward of the great honor that was done me." The margrave answered: "What ye ask I grant right gladly. I will requite ye as I can. And now lead on; I follow you."

The merchant then said courteously: "You should ride, and I must walk; else will I stand here the week through." The margrave replied: "I know friendship's tie but ill if I suffer ye to be my servant. Let me show courtesy like your own. I will follow you on foot; for I would be your good comrade."

Wimar led his guest to his house. There the knight suffered them to disarm him, for he had no fear. And now the host bade his servants lay mattress and pillow and rich coverlid on the carpet. Then Wimar ordered that many viands, dainty and fresh, be brought to be cooked and roasted, — meat of all sorts and fish besides. All was daintily prepared. They set a little table for the margrave alone; and when he had washed his hands, his host served him right deftly. There were dishes manifold, and an emperor would not have disdained the liquors. The roast peacock was served with the best sauce the host knew; and there were capon, pheasant, partridge, and lamprey served in jelly.

The knight rested at the merchant's house until the next day and then went to seek the king.

The following story was written, about the middle of the thirteenth century, by one who calls himself Wernher the Gardener. The scene is laid in southern Germany. The version here given is an abridgment of the more lengthy original, which is in verse.[1]

170. ***Farmer Helmbrecht:*** **a picture of German life in the thirteenth century.**

Old farmer Helmbrecht had a son. Young Helmbrecht's yellow locks hung down to his shoulders. He tucked them into a handsome silken cap, embroidered with doves and parrots and many a picture. This cap had been embroidered by a nun who had run away from her convent through a love

[1] I owe this tale in its present form to Professor George L. Burr, who bases his translation upon the prose version given by Freytag in his *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit.*

adventure, as happens to so many. From her Helmbrecht's sister Gotelind had learned to embroider and to sew. The girl and her mother had well earned that from the nun, for they gave her in pay a calf, and many cheeses and eggs. Sister and mother dressed up the boy, too, with fine linen clothing and a chain doublet and a sword, with pouch and kerchief and a fine overcoat of blue cloth: its buttons of gold and silver and glass gleamed bright as he went out to dance, and its seams were strung with bells which tinkled in the ears of the maidens as he tripped to the measure.

When the proud boy was thus tricked out, he said to his father: "Now I want to go to court: do you too, dear father mine, give me something toward it." His father replied: "I might, to be sure, buy you a swift steed that would leap over hedge and ditch. But, my dear son, give up the journey to the court; court etiquette is hard for one who is not used to it from his youth. Take the plow and till with me the field; then you 'll live and die respected. See how I live, — true, respectable, honest. Every year I pay my tithes, and my whole life long I have never known hate or envy. At court you 'll suffer hunger, your bed will be hard, and you must do without love; there you 'll be the butt of the genuine court folk; in vain you 'll try to do like them: and, on the other hand, you will be just the one worst hated by the peasant, — on you will he most gladly revenge himself for what the bluer-blooded robbers have taken from him." But the son said: "Stop, father! Never shall your bags chafe my shoulders: never will I load dung upon your wagon: ill would that befit my long curling locks, my handsome coat, and my embroidered cap. Shall I drudge three years for a colt or a calf, when I can have my plunder every day? I 'll drive other people's cattle over the border, and haul the peasants by their hair through the hedges. Hurry up, father: I stay with you no longer." Then his father bought him the horse, and said: "Ah, me, wasted money!" But the boy shook his head and cried: "I could bite a stone in two, so fierce is my mood. Good-bye, father, mother, and sister!"

So he galloped through the gate and rode to a castle whose lord lived by fighting and gladly kept those who did knight service. There the boy joined the troop and was soon the readiest rider. No robbery was for him too small and none too great; he took horse, he took cow, he took mantle and coat; even what another let lie, he stuffed it all in his sack. For the first year everything went to his wish. Then he began to think of home, took a furlough from court, and rode to his father's house. His sister ran to meet him and threw her arms about him. He said to her, "Gratia vestra!" His parents came after and embraced him again and again.

He shouted to his father, "Dieu vous salue!" and to his mother he spoke Bohemian: "Dobra ytra!" Father and mother looked at each other. His mother said: "Husband, we're out of our wits; it's not our child; it's a Bohemian or a Wend." His father cried, "It's a foreigner — not my son, much as he looks like him." And his sister Gotelind said: "It's not your son; to me he spoke Latin — it must be a priest." Now, it was late and there was no inn in the neighborhood for the boy to put up at, so he bethought him and said: "Indeed, I'm he; I'm Helmbrecht; once I was your son." His father said, "You're not he." "Yes, I am." "Well, then, name me the names of my four oxen." "Auer, Räme, Erke, Sonne; I've often swung my switch over them; they're the best oxen in the world — do you know me now?"

So the son was well received, and a soft bed made ready by sister and mother. His mother called to her daughter, "Run, bring a bolster and a soft pillow." That was laid under his arm on the warm stove, and snugly he waited till supper was ready. It was a royal meal: fine chopped cabbage with good meat, a fat goose roasted on the spit, chickens roasted and boiled. And his father said: "If I had wine, to-day it should be drunk; as it is, however, drink, dear son, of the best spring water that ever flowed out of the earth."

And young Helmbrecht unpacked his presents: for his father a whetstone, a scythe, and a hatchet — the best

peasant jewels in the world; for his mother a fox skin which he had pulled off a priest; for his sister Gotelind a silken band and a tagged lace that would better have befitted a noble dame — he had taken it from a peddler. And he said: "I must to sleep; I have ridden far; I need rest to-night." So he slept far into the next day in the bed over which his sister Gotelind had spread out a new-washed shirt — for a coverlet was there unknown.

So the son tarried at his father's for a week.

Then the father asked his son how court etiquette was in the place where he had been living. "I myself," said he, "when I was a boy, went once to court with cheeses and eggs; in those days there were knights of other sort, courteous and well mannered; they practiced knightly feats of arms, then they danced with ladies and sang to their dancing. Then came the musician with his fiddle; and when he began, the ladies stood up, the knights went up to them, took them politely by the hand and danced gracefully, and, when that was over, came another man and read aloud out of a book about somebody named Ernst.

"All in those days was merry good-fellowship. Some shot with bows at a mark, others went hunting and fishing; the worst one then would be the best nowadays. For now the man is prized who can spy and lie; truth and honor are turned into falsehood; not even the tourneys of the old sort are in fashion any more — others are all the rage. Then one used to hear in knightly sport the shout: 'Heia, knight, good cheer!' Now there rings through the air: 'Chase him, knight, chase him, chase him; stab him, hit him, maim him, cut me that fellow's foot off, hew me this one's hands off, hang me that one, catch this rich man, he 'll pay us a good hundred pounds.' So it was, methinks, better in the old days than now. Tell me, my son, more of the new customs."

"That I 'll do. Nowadays court etiquette is: 'Drink, sir, drink, drink; if you 'll drink this, I 'll drink that.' One does n't sit any more with women, only with the wine. Take my word for it, the life of the old fogies who live as

you do is now hated like the hangman by man and woman. Law and order is now a joke."

"Son," said his father, "let court etiquette go; it is bitter and sour. I 'd much rather be a peasant than a poor courtier who must forever ride for his life and take care that his foes don't catch him and maim him and hang him."

"Father," said the youngster, "I 'm obliged to you, but it 's more than a week since I 've tasted wine — since then I 've buckled my belt three holes tighter. I 'll have cattle to lift before the buckle goes back to its old place. A rich man has done me a grievous wrong; I saw him once ride through the grain of my godfather the knight. He shall pay dear for it: his cattle, his sheep, and his hogs shall trot for his trampling that field of a godfather of mine. And I know another rich man who did me also great wrong: he ate bread with doughnuts — by my life, I 'll be revenged for it. And I know still another rich man who has given me more pain than anybody else; I would n't forgive it, not even if a bishop should pray for him, for once as he sat at table he loosened his belt most ungracefully. When I get hold of what he calls his, it shall help me to a Christmas suit. And there 's yet another stupid fool, who blew the foam off his glass of beer in the most awkward fashion. If I don't revenge that, I 'll never wear a sword or win a wife. Helmbrecht will be heard of shortly."

His father said: "Ei! just name me once these fellows, your comrades, who have taught you to rob a rich man if he eats bread and doughnuts together!" Then his son named his comrades: "Lämmerschling and Schluckdenwidder, Höllensack and Rüttelschrein, Kühfrass, Knickekelch and Wolfsgaumen, Wolfsrüssel and Wolfsdarm[1] — these are my schoolmasters."

His father asked, "And how do they call you?"

"I 'm called Schlingdengau [i.e. Gulp-down-the-land] — I 'm not the joy of the peasants; their children have to eat water

[1] I.e. Swallow-the-lamb, Gobble-the-buck, Hell-bag, Ransack-the-cupboard, etc.

soup; what the peasants have, that 's mine; for one, I gouge his eye out, another I slash in the back, this one I tie in an ant-hill, that one I string up by his legs on the willow."

Then his father burst forth: "Son, those you name and brag of, be they never so fiery, still I hope, if there lives a just God, the day will come when the hangman shall seize them and push them off his ladder."

"Father, often from my comrades I've saved your geese and poultry, cattle and fodder; I'll never do so again. You speak too sorely against the honor of good fellows. Your daughter Gotelind I would have given as a wife to my comrade Lämmerschling; with him she 'd have led the best of lives. That 's past now; you 've spoken too boorishly against us."

And he took his sister Gotelind secretly aside and told her confidentially: "When my comrade Lämmerschling first asked me for you, I said to him: 'You'll find her worth your while; if you take her, never fear that you'll hang long on the gallows tree — she'll cut you down with her own hand and drag you to the grave at the crossroads; with incense and myrrh she'll march about your bones swinging the censer a whole year. And if you have the luck to be only blinded, she'll lead you by the hand over highway and byway through all the world; if your foot is struck off, she'll bring you the crutches to the bed every morning; and if they take your hand too, then she'll cut your meat and bread to the end of your days.' Then said Lämmerschling to me: 'I've three full bags heavier than lead with fine linen, with gowns and underwear and costly clothing, with scarlet and sable; I have it hid in a gorge near by — that I'll give her for a morning-gift.' All that, Gotelind, you 've lost through your father's fault; now take you a peasant and spend your days digging turnips for the churl. A pity about your father! For my father he 's not: I'm sure some courtier had to do with my mother — from him I get my high spirit."

And his foolish sister said: "Dear brother Schlingdengau, let your comrade marry me, and I 'll leave father, mother, and kinsfolk."

"I'll send you my messenger, whom you must follow; hold yourself ready. Good-bye, I'm going; the landlord here is as little to me as I to him. Mother, good-bye."

So he rode back whence he came, and told his comrade his sister's wish; and the comrade kissed his hand for joy, and made a bow to the wind that blew from Gotelind's way.

Many the widows and orphans who were robbed of their own when the hero Lämmerschling and his bride Gotelind sat on the bridal seat. Busily did the retainers, on wagon and on horseback, carry stolen food and drink into Lämmerschling's house. But when Gotelind came, the bridegroom went to meet her, and received her: "Welcome, Lady Gotelind." "God save you, Sir Lämmerschling." Thus did they greet each other in friendly fashion; and an old man, wise in words, stood up and placed the two in a ring, and asked three times both the man and the maiden, "Will you take each other in marriage; if so, say yes." Then he gave them to each other. All sang the bride-song, and the bridegroom trod on the bride's foot.

Then the wedding feast was made ready. But strange it was: the food vanished before the men as if a wind blew it from the table; they ate without end whatever the steward brought on from the kitchen, and there was not enough left of it for the dog to gnaw the bones. They say that when anybody eats ravenously like that his end is nigh. The bride, Gotelind, began to be frightened, and she moaned: "Ah me! some trouble is nearing us, my heart is so heavy! Woe is me that I have left father and mother; who grasps at too much gets little; this greediness leads to the pit of hell."

They sat yet awhile after the feast, and already the musicians had received their gift from bride and bridegroom, when the judge was seen coming with five men. It was a short fight; with five the judge was victorious over ten, for a real thief, no matter how bold, even though he can beat a whole army, is helpless against the hangman. The robbers hid in the oven and under the bench; whoever had not taken to his legs betimes, the hangman's man now hauled

out by the hair. Gotelind lost her bridal gown: in a hedge they found her, scared, tattered, despised. But on the necks of the thieves were bound the hides of the cattle they had stolen, as a fee for the judge. Nine the hangman hung; the tenth he left alive, by hangman's right, and this tenth was Schlingdengau Helmbrecht. The hangman revenged his father on him — he picked him his eyes out; he revenged his mother, and chopped him a hand and a foot off. So the blind Helmbrecht on a crutch was led home to his father's house.

Hear how his father greeted him: "Dieu salue, Sir Blind Man. Be off with you, Monsieur Blind Man; if you loiter, I'll have you clubbed off by my man; get away with you from the door."

So shouted his father; yet his mother put a loaf of bread into his hand, as if he were a child. And so the blind man went away; and the peasants called after him and taunted him.

A year he suffered want. Once early in the morning he was going through the forest to beg bread, when some peasants who were gathering wood saw him; from one of them he had stolen a cow which had seven times calved, and now that peasant called the others to help him. He had wronged them all: one's hut he had broken into and plundered; another's daughter he had disgraced; the fourth quivered with fury and said, "I 'll kill him like a hen — he stuffed my sleeping baby at night into a bag, and when it awoke and cried, he shook it out into the snow, where it would have died had I not come to its help." All turned then toward Helmbrecht: "Now look out for thy cap!" The embroidery which once the hangman had left untouched was torn in pieces and scattered with his hair along the road. His confession they let the wretch utter, and one broke a clod from the earth and put it in the gentleman's hand as an entrance fee to hell fire. Then they hanged him on a tree.

If there are still at home, with father and mother, children who want to be knights, let them be warned by Helmbrecht's fate.

V. Maltreatment of the Jews

171. Expulsion of the Jews from France. (From Rigord's *Life of Philip Augustus.*)

[Philip Augustus had often heard] that the Jews who dwelt in Paris were wont every year on Easter day, or during the sacred week of our Lord's Passion, to go down secretly into underground vaults and kill a Christian as a sort of sacrifice in contempt of the Christian religion. For a long time they had persisted in this wickedness, inspired by the devil, and in Philip's father's time many of them had been seized and burned with fire. St. Richard, whose body rests in the church of the Holy Innocents-in-the-Fields in Paris, was thus put to death and crucified by the Jews, and through martyrdom went in blessedness to God. Wherefore many miracles have been wrought by the hand of God through the prayers and intercessions of St. Richard, to the glory of God, as we have heard.

And because the most Christian King Philip inquired diligently, and came to know full well these and many other iniquities of the Jews in his forefathers' days, therefore he burned with zeal, and in the same year in which he was invested at Rheims with the holy governance of the kingdom of the French, upon a Sabbath, the first of March, by his command, the Jews throughout all France were seized in their synagogues and then bespoiled of their gold and silver and garments, as the Jews themselves had spoiled the Egyptians at their exodus from Egypt. This was a harbinger of their expulsion, which by God's will soon followed. . . .

At this time a great multitude of Jews had been dwelling in France for a long time past, for they had flocked thither from divers parts of the world, because peace abode among the French, and liberality; for the Jews had heard how the kings of the French were prompt to act against their enemies, and were very merciful toward their subjects. And therefore their elders and men wise in the law of Moses, who were called by the Jews *didascali*, made resolve to come to Paris.

When they had made a long sojourn there, they grew so rich that they claimed as their own almost half of the whole

city, and had Christians in their houses as menservants and maidservants, who were open backsliders from the faith of Jesus Christ, and *judaized* with the Jews. And this was contrary to the decree of God and the law of the Church. And whereas the Lord had said by the mouth of Moses in Deuteronomy (xxiii. 19, 20), "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother," but "to a stranger," the Jews in their wickedness understood by "stranger" every Christian, and they took from the Christians their money at usury. And so heavily burdened in this wise were citizens and soldiers and peasants in the suburbs, and in the various towns and villages, that many of them were constrained to part with their possessions. Others were bound under oath in houses of the Jews in Paris, held as if captives in prison.

The most Christian King Philip heard of these things, and compassion was stirred within him. He took counsel with a certain hermit, Bernard by name,[1] a holy and religious man, who at that time dwelt in the forest of Vincennes, and asked him what he should do. By his advice the king released all Christians of his kingdom from their debts to the Jews, and kept a fifth part of the whole amount for himself.

Finally came the culmination of their wickedness. Certain ecclesiastical vessels consecrated to God — the chalices and crosses of gold and silver bearing the image of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified — had been pledged to the Jews by way of security when the need of the churches was pressing. These they used so vilely, in their impiety and scorn of the Christian religion, that from the cups in which the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ was consecrated they gave their children cakes soaked in wine. . . .

In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 1182, in the month of April, which is called by the Jews Nisan, an edict went forth from the most serene king, Philip Augustus, that all the Jews of his kingdom should be prepared to go forth by

[1] Not St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who died some thirty years before, whose advice in regard to the treatment of the Jews will be found above, p. 332.

the coming feast of St. John the Baptist. And then the king gave them leave to sell each his movable goods before the time fixed, that is, the feast of St. John the Baptist. But their real estate, that is, houses, fields, vineyards, barns, winepresses, and such like, he reserved for himself and his successors, the kings of the French.

When the faithless Jews heard this edict some of them were born again of water and the Holy Spirit and converted to the Lord, remaining steadfast in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. To them the king, out of regard for the Christian religion, restored all their possessions in their entirety, and gave them perpetual liberty.

Others were blinded by their ancient error and persisted in their perfidy; and they sought to win with gifts and golden promises the great of the land, — counts, barons, archbishops, bishops, — that through their influence and advice, and through the promise of infinite wealth, they might turn the king's mind from his firm intention. But the merciful and compassionate God, who does not forsake those who put their hope in him and who doth humble those who glory in their strength, . . . so fortified the illustrious king that he could not be moved by prayers nor promises of temporal things. . . .

The infidel Jews, perceiving that the great of the land, through whom they had been accustomed easily to bend the king's predecessors to their will, had suffered repulse, and astonished and stupefied by the strength of mind of Philip the king and his constancy in the Lord, exclaimed, "Scema Israhel!" and prepared to sell all their household goods. The time was now at hand when the king had ordered them to leave France altogether, and it could not be in any way prolonged. Then did the Jews sell all their movable possessions in great haste, while their landed property reverted to the crown. Thus the Jews, having sold their goods and taken the price for the expenses of their journey, departed with their wives and children and all their households in the aforesaid year of the Lord 1182.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE CULTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

I. The Development of the Modern Languages

A. — English

From the little example of Anglo-Saxon given below one can form some notion of the general appearance of English as it was written from the times of Alfred to those of Henry II. The characters þ and ð both stand for *th*. The former is equivalent to *th* in "thin" and is used at the beginning of a word; the latter corresponds to the vocalized *th* in "father" and occurs in the middle of a word. The sign ⁊ means "and."

A little study and comparison with the translation will show that almost all the words used correspond to those with which we are familiar in our own modern speech.

Here on þissum geare Willelm cyng geaf Rodberde eorle thone eorldom on Norðhymbraland. Ða comon þa landes menn togeanes him. ⁊ hine ofslogon. ⁊ ix. hund manna mid him. And Eadgar æðeling com þa mid eallum Norðhymbram to Eoferwic ⁊ þa portmen wið hine griðedon. ⁊ se cyng Willelm com suðan mid eallan his fyrde. ⁊ þa burh forhergode ⁊ fela hund manna ofsloh. ⁊ se æðeling for eft to Scotlande.

172. Example of Anglo-Saxon. (From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.)

In this year [1068] King William gave to Earl Robert the earldom of Northumberland. Then came the men of the country against him (Robert), and slew him, and nine hundred men with him. And Edgar aetheling came then with

Translation.

all the Northumbrians to York, and the townsmen made peace with him. And King William came from the south with all his force, and ravaged the town, and slew many hundred men. And the aetheling went back again to Scotland.

By the middle of the thirteenth century English begins to look pretty familiar, although at first glance a word may be disguised by the spelling. In the fourteenth century the language became a literary vehicle of great force and beauty, especially in the verse of Chaucer and the prose of Wycliffe. Examples of the language as used by the latter will be found in a succeeding chapter (see below, pp. 498 *sqq.*).

173. An example of English in the thirteenth century. (From *A Metrical Version of Genesis.*)

And Aaron held up his hond
To the water and the more lond;
Tho cam thor up schwilc froschkes here
The dede al folc Egipte dere;
Summe woren wilde, and summe tame,
And tho hem deden the moste schame;
In huse, in drinc, in metes, in bed,
It cropen and maden hem for-dred. . . .

Modernized version.

And Aaron held up his hand
To the water and the greater land;
Then came there up such host of frogs
That did all Egypt's folk harm;
Some were wild, and some were tame,
And those caused them the most shame;
In house, in drink, in meats, in bed,
They crept and made them in great dread. . . .

B. — French

The oath taken by Louis the German at Strasburg in 842[1] furnishes the first example which has been preserved of the language which was destined to develop into modern

[1] See *History of Western Europe*, pp. 94 *sq.*

French. A French scholar has ingeniously illustrated, by the following parallel columns, the more important stages in the progress from the ancient Latin to the French as it is written to-day.

174. Comparison of the various stages in the development of French.

Classical Latin

Per Dei amorem et per christiani populi et nostram communem salutem, ab hac die, quantum Deus scire et posse mihi dat, servabo hunc meum fratrem Carolum, et ope mea et in quacumque re, ut quilibet fratrem suum servare jure debet, dummodo mecum idem agat, et cum Clotario nullam unquam pactionem faciam, quae mea voluntate huic meo fratri Carolo damno sit.

Conjectural Spoken Language of the Transition Period

Pro deo amore et pro christiano popolo et nostro commune salvamento de esto die in abante, in quanto deos sapēre et potēre me donat, sic salvaraio eo eccesto mem fratre Karlo et in adjutare et in catuna causa sic qomo omo per drecto som fratre salvare debet, in o qued elle me altero sic faciat, et ab Luthero nullo placito nunquam prenderaio, qui mem volere eccesto mem fratre Karlo in damno sit.

Strasburg Oath (842)

Pro deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun saluament, d'ist di en avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, sî salvarai eo cist meon fradre Karlo, et in aiudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dift, in o quid il mi altresi fazet, et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit.

French of the 11th Century, Period of the Song of Roland

Por dieu amor et por del crestiien poeple et nostre comun salvement, de cest jor en avant, quant que Dieus saveir et podeir me donet, si salverai io cest mien fredre Charlon, et en aiude, et en chascune chose, si come on par dreit son fredre salver deit, en ço que il me altresi façet, et a Lodher nul plait oncques ne prendrai, qui mien vueil cest mien fredre Charlon en dam sit.

Middle French, Opening of the 15th Century

Pour l'amour Dieu et pour le sauvement du chrestien peuple et le nostre commun, de cest jour en avant, quant que Dieu savoir et pouvoir me donet, si sauverai je cet mien frere Charle, et par mon aide et en chascune chose, si comme on doit par droit son frere sauver, en ce qu'il me face autresi, et avec Lothaire nul plaid onques ne prendrai, qui, à mon veuil, à ce mien frere Charles soit à dan.

French of To-day

Pour l'amour de Dieu et pour le salut commun du peuple chrétien et le nôtre, à partir de ce jour, autant que Dieu m'en donne le savoir et le pouvoir, je soutiendrai mon frère Charles de mon aide et en toute chose, comme on doit justement soutenir son frère, à condition qu'il m'en fasse autant, et je ne prendrai jamais aucun arrangement avec Lothaire, qui, à ma volonté, soit au détriment de mon dit frère Charles.

C.— Provençal

175. A few lines of Provençal.

Ieu m'en irai ; e on? Non sai,
Mais lai on tota li gens vai,
En l'autre segle, per saber
Si lai aves tant de poder.

Translation.

I am going hence ; and whither? I know not,
But there where all the people go,—
Into the other world to learn
If you [namely, love] have as much power there.

176 The ideals of the troubadours.' (From Smith, *The Troubadours at Home.*)

It was precisely in the land of the troubadours, and keeping time by the music of their songs, that a gay, brilliant, and polished society was first developed in the modern world. Partly by instinct, partly by feeling, and partly by taking thought, a code of ideals and a system of conduct were elaborated, to break and put in training the rude ways and ungoverned passions of the feudal world. The starting-point was love for woman, as we have already discovered.

As the result of love came that *joi* of which we already know, a gladness and lightness of heart that illuminated and vivified the inner world like another sun, and prompted to all noble, beautiful, and self-denying acts. *Joi* led especially to the boundless generosity that frequently almost ruined wealthy nobles, and even made robbers of them sometimes. Along with such qualities went naturally a passionate fondness for social pleasure, witty conversation, and gallantry.

All these together were summed up in the word *joven*, that youngness or young-heartedness which has already been mentioned more than once ; while feebleness of spirit and meanness of life were signified by the contrary word, oldness. Over all this were thrown the bonds of self-control and moderation, expressed by another word always on the lips — *mesura*, measure, which endeavored to bring even the virtues into æsthetic form.

The precious fruit of so much striving and study was known as *cortesia*, courtliness, the perfect bearing and conduct of a finished gentleman according to the code of chivalry and

poetry; and the rewards a man gained from this were the excellence or worth that he felt within himself, and — far more important, as a rule — the repute or credit with others that all were passionately bent upon winning.

177. A troubadour's song. (By *Arnault de Maruelh.*)

Fair to me is April, bearing
  Winds that o'er me softly blow, —
Nightingales their music airing
  While the stars serenely glow;
    All the birds as they have power,
      While the dews of morning wait,
    Sing of joy in sky or bower,
      Each consorting with his mate.

And as all the world is wearing
  New delight while new leaves grow,
'Twould be vain to try forswearing
  Love which makes my joys o'erflow;
    Both by habit and by dower
      Gladness is my rightful state,
    And when clouds no longer lower
      Quick my heart throws off its weight.

Helen were not worth comparing,
  Gardens no such beauty show;
Teeth of pearl, — the truth declaring,
  Blooming cheeks, a neck of snow,
    Tresses like a golden shower,
      Courtly charms, for baseness, hate, —
    God who made her thus o'ertower
      All the rest, her way make straight!

Kindness may she do me, sparing
  Courtship long and favor slow,
Give a kiss to cheer my daring —
  More, if more I earn, bestow;
    Then the path where pleasures flower
      We shall tread nor slow nor late, —
    Ah, such hopes my heart o'erpower
      When her charms I contemplate.

178. The troubadours' creed. (By *Sordel.*)

As treasures buried in the earth
Possess no longer any worth,
I likewise count good sense quite vain
If one conceal it in his brain. . . .
Whoe'er considers life with care
Will always find, — so I declare,
One thing enjoined by wisdom's rod:
To please at once the world and God. . . .
. . . . . .

One is not wise, as wise I deem,
Unless he oft can make it seem
That he is pleased with what annoys
And bored by what he most enjoys;
And who this maxim e'er applies, —
I' faith I count him truly wise. . . .

A life of baseness and ill-fame
Destroys the body, soils the name,
And sends the rebel soul to dwell
Forever in the fires of hell. . . .
No man of worth, it seems to me,
Should wish to live except it be
For joy and fame, since only these
Give life a flavor that can please. . .

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179. A song by *Vidal.*

Oh, 'tis good and fair
When the trees all wear
Fresh green leaves, — the air
Sweet with flowers new,
Song birds, here and there,
Chanting full in view,
While gay lovers sue,
Amorous and true;
Loved and lover I would be,
Yet such answers to my plea
It hath been my lot to find
That I've nearly lost my mind.

Strength and heart and mind,
Lovingly inclined,
I have all resigned
To my lady fair;
Glad new life I find
Like the boughs that wear
Fruit again, — birds air
All their music there;
Springing leaves and blossoms new
In my heart I ever view,
And this joy will ever be
Mine, for she hath heard my plea.

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180. A song by *Bernard de Ventadorn.*

Whene'er the lark's glad wings I see
Beat sunward 'gainst the radiant sky
Till, lost in joy so sweet and free,
She drops, forgetful how to fly, —
Ah, when I view such happiness
My bosom feels so deep an ache,
Meseems for pain and sore distress
My longing heart will straightway break.

Alas, I thought I held the key
To love! How ignorant am I!
For her that ne'er will pity me
I am not able to defy;
My loving heart, my faithfulness,
Myself, my world, she deigns to take,
Then leaves me bare and comfortless
To longing thoughts that ever wake.

D. — German

181. A song by the minnesinger, *Walther von der Vogelweide.*

So die bluomen us dem grase dringent,
Sam si lachen gegen den spilnden sunnen
In einem meien an dem morgen fruo,
Und die kleinen vogellin wol singent
In ir besten wise die si kunnen,
Wunne kan sich da gelichen zuo? . . .

Translation of these and the following lines.

When from the sod the flow'rets spring,
And smile to meet the sun's bright ray,
When birds their sweetest carols sing
In all the morning pride of May,
What lovelier than the prospect there?
Can earth boast anything more fair?
To me it seems an almost heaven,
So beauteous to my eyes that vision bright is given.

But when a lady, chaste and fair,
Noble and clad in rich attire,
Walks through the throng with gracious air,
As sun that bids the stars retire, —
Then, where are all thy boastings, May?
What hast thou beautiful and gay
Compared with that supreme delight?
We leave thy loveliest flowers, and watch that lady bright.

Wouldst thou believe me, — come and place
Before thee all this pride of May;
Then look but on my lady's face,
And, which is best and brightest? say:
For me, how soon (if choice were mine)
This would I take, and that resign!
And say, "Though sweet thy beauties, May,
I'd rather forfeit all than lose my lady gay."

II. Mediæval Natural Science

Mediæval books on science differ greatly, as might be expected, from the scientific manuals of our own age. In the first place, they are usually devoted to things in general and are called *On the Nature of Things*, *On the Properties of Things*, *Things that can be Known*, *Mirror of the World*, etc. A writer did not hesitate to huddle together into a short treatise matters which we should regard as properly belonging to a dozen distinct sciences,

such as zoölogy, mineralogy, botany, chemistry, physics, meteorology, anatomy, physiology, ethics, theology, law, and medicine. In the second place, important scientific observations are mixed with what seem to us the most preposterous legends and irrelevant anecdotes. Lastly, writers were rarely satisfied when they had described a particular kind of bird, fish, or mineral unless they could add a moral, or illustrate the truths of Scripture.

Among the more worthy and serious of these mediæval writers is Alexander Neckam in his work entitled *On the Natures of Things*. He was an Englishman, a contemporary of Richard the Lion-Hearted, and for a time a professor in the University of Paris. In a single fair-sized volume he takes up in turn the world and the heavenly bodies; fire, air, and the various birds; water and the fishes; the earth, metals, gems, plants, and animals, with their respective virtues and properties; man, the vanity of his pursuits, his domesticated animals, — the dog, horse, sheep, mule, silkworm; scholastic learning, the universities, Virgil's necromancy, court life, dice, chess, and the vices of envy and arrogance.

182. The birds and their lesson. (From Neckam, *On the Natures of Things*.)

The eagle, [Neckam tells us] on account of its great heat, mixeth very cold stones with its eggs when it sitteth on them, so that the heat shall not destroy them. In the same way our words, when we speak with undue heat, should later be tempered with discretion, so that we may conciliate in the end those whom we offended by the beginning of our speech.

The wren.

The wren is but a little bird, yet it glories in the number of its progeny. Who has not wondered to hear a note of such volume proceeding from so trifling a body? The smaller the body, indeed, the greater the sound, it would seem. By such things we are taught that the virtues of

little things should not be scorned. . . . They say, moreover, that when the body of the wren is put upon the spit and placed before the fire it need not be turned, for the wren will turn itself, not forgetful of its royal dignity.

The stratagem by which, according to a fabulous story, it gained the royal power among birds is well known. The birds had agreed among themselves that the glory of the supreme power should be allotted to the one who should excel all others by flying highest. The wren seized its opportunity and hid itself under the eagle's wing. When the eagle, who attains nearest to Jove's gates, would have claimed the supremacy among its fellows, the little wren sallied forth and perching on the eagle's head declared itself the victor. And so it obtained its name of Regulus (i.e. "ruler").

This fable touches those who enter upon the works of others and presumptuously appropriate the credit due elsewhere. As the philosopher says, "We are all like dwarfs standing upon giants' shoulders." We should therefore be careful to ascribe to our predecessors those things which we ought not to claim for our own glory, and not follow the example of that wren which, with little or no effort of its own, claimed to have outdone the eagle.

In contrast with these tales and moralizings, Neckam gives many true and useful facts. For example, the habits and cultivation of the silkworm are clearly and correctly described, and the use of the compass is explained.

The magnetic needle.

The sailors, as they sail over the sea, when in cloudy weather they can no longer profit by the light of the sun, or when the world is wrapped in the darkness of night, and they are ignorant whither the ship's course is directed, touch a needle to the magnet; the needle will then whirl around in a circle until, when its motion ceases, its point is directed to the north.

A little Anglo-Saxon manual of the tenth century thus describes the heavenly bodies.

183. The earth and the stars. (From a little Anglo-Saxon treatise: somewhat condensed.)

On the second day God made the heaven, which is called the firmament, which is visible and corporeal; and yet we may never see it, on account of its great elevation and the thickness of the clouds, and on account of the weakness of our eyes. The heaven incloses in its bosom all the world, and it ever turns about us, swifter than any mill-wheel, all as deep under this earth as it is above. It is all round and entire and studded with stars.[1]

Truly the sun goes by God's command between heaven and earth, by day above and by night under the earth. She is ever running about the earth, and so light shines under the earth by night as it does above our heads by day. . . . The sun is very great: as broad she is, from what books say, as the whole compass of the earth; but she appears to us very small, because she is very far from our sight. Everything, the further it is, the less it seems. . . . The moon and all the stars receive light from the great sun. The sun is typical of our Saviour, Christ, who is the sun of righteousness, as the bright stars are typical of the believers in God's congregation, who shine in good converse. . . . No one of us has any light of goodness except by the grace of Christ, who is called the sun of true righteousness. . . .

Truly the moon's orb is always whole and perfect, although it does not always shine quite equally. Every day the moon's light is waxing or waning four points through the sun's light. . . . We speak of new moon according to the custom of men, but the moon is always the same, though its light often

[1] Educated persons realized all through the Middle Ages that the earth was a sphere. Bede — of whose work, *On The Nature of Things*, the present treatise is an abridgment — says (Chapter XLVI): "We speak of the globe of the earth, not that it is perfectly round, owing to the inequalities of mountains and plains, but because, if all its lines be considered, it has the perfect form of a sphere." He adds that stars far to the south are not visible to northern peoples, owing to the convexity of the earth.

Eclipse of the sun.

varies. . . . It happens sometimes when the moon runs on the same track that the sun runs, that its orb intercepts the sun's, so that the sun is all darkened and the stars appear as by night. This happens seldom, and never but at new moons. By this it is clear that the moon is very large, since it thus darkens the sun.

Meteors.

Some men say stars fall from heaven, but it is not stars that fall, but it is fire from the sky, which flies down from the heavenly bodies as sparks do from fire. Certainly there are still as many stars in the heavens as there were at the beginning, when God made them. They are almost all fixed in the firmament, and will not fall thence while this world endures. The sun, and the moon, and the evening star, and morning star, and three other stars are not fast in the firmament, but they have their own course severally. These seven stars are called planets.

The planets.

Comets.

Those stars are called comets which appear suddenly and unusually, and which are rayed so that the ray goes from them like a sunbeam. They are not seen for any long time, and as oft as they appear they foreshadow something new toward the people over whom they shine.

A few examples of mediæval zoölogy and of the edifying habits of beasts and birds may be added.

184. The pelican. (From a book on beasts — *Bestiary*; early twelfth century.)

The pelican is a bird of such fashion as is the crane, and it is found in Egypt. . . . Its nature is such that when it comes to its little ones, and they are large and beautiful, it wishes to fondle them, and to cover them with its wings. But the little ones are fierce; they seize him to peck him, and wish to devour him and pick out his two eyes. Then he takes them and pecks them, and slays them with torment, and thereupon leaves them, — leaves them lying dead. On the third day he returns, and is grieved to find them dead, and makes sore lamentations when he sees his little ones dead; with his beak he strikes his body so that the blood gushes forth: the blood goes dropping down and falls upon his birdlings: the blood has such virtue that by it they come to life. . . .

This bird signifies the son of Mary, and we are the young birds in fashion of men. We are so raised and restored from death by the precious blood which God shed for us, as the birdlings are which were three days dead. Now hear by science what that signifies, — why the birdlings peck at the father's eye, and why the father is angry when he kills them thus: he who denies truth will put out the eye of God, and God will take vengeance upon that people. Have in remembrance that this is the meaning.

185. Of satyrs, cyclops, etc. (From *The Properties of Things*, by Bartholomew Anglicus, thirteenth century.)

Satyrs be somewhat like men, and have crooked noses, and horns in the forehead, and are like to goats in their feet. St. Anthony saw such an one in the wilderness, as it is said, and he asked what he was, and he answered Anthony, and said, "I am deadly, and one of them that dwelleth in the wilderness." These wonderful beasts be divers; for some of them be called Cynophali, for they have heads as hounds, and seem, by the working, beasts rather than men; and some be called Cyclops, and have that name because each of them hath but one eye, and that in the middle of the forehead; and some be all headless and noseless and their eyes be in the shoulders; and some have plain faces without nostrils, and the nether lips of them stretch so that they hele therewith their faces when they be in the heat of the sun; and some of them have closed mouths, in their breasts only one hole, and breathe and suck, as it were, with pipes and veins, and these be accounted tongueless, and use signs and becks instead of speaking; also in Scythia be some with so great and large ears, that they spread their ears and cover all their bodies with them, and these be called Panchios. . . .

And others there be in Ethiopia, and each of them have only one foot, so great and so large that they beshadow themselves with the foot when they lie gaping on the ground in strong heat of the sun; and yet they be so swift that they be likened to hounds in swiftness of running, and therefore among the Greeks they be called Cynopodes. Also some have the soles of their feet turned backward behind the

legs, and in each foot eight toes, and such go about and stare in the desert of Lybia.

A discriminating description of the domestic cat. (From the same source.)

The cat is a full lecherous beast in youth, swift, pliant, and merry, and leapeth and runneth on everything that is to fore him: and is led by a straw, and playeth therewith: and is a right heavy beast in age and full sleepy, and lieth slyly in wait for mice: and is aware where they be, more by smell than by sight, and hunteth and runneth on them in privy places; and when he taketh a mouse, he playeth therewith, and eateth him after the play. In time of love is hard fighting for wives, and one scratcheth and rendeth the other grievously with biting and with claws. And he maketh a ruthful noise and ghastful, when one proffereth to fight with another: nor is he hurt when he is thrown down off an high place. And when he hath a fair skin, he is, as it were, proud thereof, and goeth fast about; and when his skin is burnt, then he bideth at home; and he is oft, for his fair skin, taken of the skinner, and slain and flayed.

III. Historical Knowledge in the Middle Ages

Like the works on natural science, the histories of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries furnish a singular mixture of truth and occasional acute criticism along with the most palpable absurdities. Such a writer as Otto of Freising made use of some excellent authorities, — for example, Eusebius and the best of the mediæval chronicles, — and one is astonished to find how correct and philosophic is his account of the history of the world. He knew as much about the past as writers of a hundred years ago. On the other hand, there are frequent passages like the following in other writers of the time.

[Philip Augustus, distressed by the ill-smelling mud in Paris, arranges to have the city paved with hard and solid

blocks of stone.] This city was originally called Lutetia on account of the pestilential mud with which it was filled. The inhabitants, shocked by the name, which was always recalling the mud to them, preferred to call the city Paris, from Paris Alexander, son of Priam, king of Troy; for we read in the *Acts of the Franks* that the first king of the Franks who exercised the royal power was Pharamond, son of Marcomir, whose father was Priam, king of Austrasia. This Priam, king of Austrasia, was not, however, the great Priam, king of Troy, but he was a descendant of Hector, Priam's son, through Francius, as will be seen from the following table.

186. How the Merovingian kings sprang from Troy. (From the *Life of Philip Augustus*, by Rigord.)

PRIAM, KING OF TROY

HECTOR	TROILUS
Francius, son of Hector	Turck, son of Troilus
Priam, king of Austrasia	
Marcomir, his son	
Pharamond, his son, first king of Gaul, reigned 11 years	
Clodius, his son, reigned 20 years	
Meroveus, of his race, reigned 17 years	
Childeric, his son, reigned 20 years	

Now, since it is not rare to find those who doubt this origin of the Franks and the authorities which would prove that the kings of France may really be traced back to the Trojans, we have taken pains to collect all the information in the history of Gregory of Tours, in the chronicles of Eusebius and of Idacius, besides the writings of many others, in order to establish this genealogy correctly.

How the Franks and the Turks came to be so called.

After the destruction of Troy a great number of the inhabitants of that city fled, and later separated into two peoples; one of these took for their king Francius, son of Hector, and consequently grandson of Priam the former king of the Trojans; the other followed the son of Troilus, the second son of Priam. He was called the Turck; and it is in this way, it is said, that these two peoples received the

names which they keep even until to-day of Franks and Turks.

Having advanced inland, they soon found themselves in Thrace on the banks of the Danube; but Turck soon separated from Francius, his cousin, in order to establish a kingdom in lower Scythia. We have here the origin of the Oster Goths, the Hypo Goths, the Vandals, and the Normans. Francius, on his part, established himself in the neighborhood of the Danube, and there he founded his state under the name of Sicambria. There he and his descendants reigned for the space of 1507 years, until the time of the emperor Valentinian, who came to the throne in the year 376 of the Incarnation of our Lord. They were then driven from their country because they refused to pay, like the other nations, a tribute to the Romans. . . .

They finally established themselves upon the banks of the Rhine in a country neighboring upon Germany and Alemannia, called Austrasia. Valentinian, having tried their courage in many conflicts without ever being able to vanquish them, called this people by their proper name of "Franks," — that is to say, in the language of the North, Feranc — that is ferocious. The Franks soon increased their power to such an extent that they finally conquered all Germany, and Gaul as far as the Pyrenees and beyond.

IV. Abelard and the Universities

While Abelard was not the first teacher to attract students to Paris, his great gifts and his remarkable popularity served to arouse such enthusiasm for learning that it was not long after his death that the teachers and students became so numerous that they organized themselves into guilds, or corporations, which formed the basis of the later university.

It is not difficult to understand the charm of Abelard's teaching. Three qualities are assigned to it by the writers

of the period, some of whom studied at his feet: clearness, richness in imagery, and lightness of touch are said to have been the chief characteristics of his teaching. Clearness is, indeed, a quality of his written works, though they do not, naturally, convey an impression of his oral power. His splendid gifts and versatility, supported by a rich voice, a charming personality, a ready and sympathetic use of human literature, and a freedom from excessive piety, gave him an immeasurable advantage over all the teachers of the day. Beside most of them, he was as a butterfly to an elephant. A most industrious study of the Roman classics that were available, a retentive memory, an ease in manipulating his knowledge, a clear, penetrating mind, with a corresponding clearness of expression, a ready and productive fancy, a great knowledge of men, a warmer interest in things human than in things divine, a laughing contempt for authority, a handsome presence, and a musical delivery, — these were his gifts.

187. Abelard's popularity as a teacher. (From McCabe's *Abelard*.)

Nowhere is so much to be found about Abelard's life and the education of his time as in a certain long, sad letter which he wrote to a friend describing his troubles, and which is really a brief autobiography. He tells first of his birth in Brittany, not far from Nantes. His father had been interested in learning, although a soldier by profession, and had resolved that his children should be reared in letters before they were trained in arms. Abelard, the firstborn, decided to surrender all his possessions to his brothers and set forth to seek instruction, especially in logic, preferring the laurels to be won in disputation to the trophies of war, the natural profession of a young nobleman.

188. Abelard's autobiography. (Summary of the earlier portions.)

Consequently [he says] I traversed the various provinces, engaging in disputation and visiting all those places where I heard that the art of logic flourished. I came finally to

Abelard falls out with his master at Paris.

Paris, where this art was wont to be most cultivated, to William of Champeaux, my preceptor, who at that time was quite justly famous in his profession. I remained with him for a time and was at first favorably received; later he came to dislike me heartily, when I attempted to oppose certain of his opinions. I began frequently to argue against him, and sometimes appeared to get the better of him in debate. Moreover those among my fellow-students who stood highest were especially indignant with me, since I was reckoned of slight consequence owing to my youth and the brief period I had been studying. Here my calamities had their beginning and they still continue.

[In spite of his youthfulness Abelard ventured to begin teaching for himself near Paris, and attracted many students. But he speedily broke down in health and went back to Brittany for several years. Later he returned to Paris, and forced poor William of Champeaux to change the formulation of his doctrine in a single point. The master being thus discredited, the students now flocked to listen to the new teacher. Before long, however, Abelard decided to turn to theology. He accordingly went to Laon, to study under Master Anselm, then famous in that subject.]

Abelard turns to theology.

I accordingly betook myself to this old man, but found that he owed his name rather to mere tradition than to any special ability. If one applied to him, uncertain as to some question, one left him still more uncertain. He was marvelous in the eyes of those who merely listened, but contemptible to those who asked questions. He enjoyed an astonishing facility in words but was despicable in his understanding and fatuous in his reasoning. . . . When I discovered that he was like a tree full of leaves but without fruit, I did not spend many days lying idle in his shade. I went more and more infrequently to his lectures. Some of the most prominent among his students took this ill, since I seemed to despise their great master.

[One day Abelard's fellow-students, who regarded him as very ill prepared for the study of theology, asked him jokingly what he thought of the reading of the Scriptures.

Abelard replied that he believed that any one who could read ought to be able to understand the writings of the saints without a long course under a master.] Those who heard laughed and asked if I would presume to interpret the Scriptures myself. I said that if they wished to try me I was ready. They then exclaimed, amid renewed laughter, that they gladly assented.

Abelard lectures on Ezekiel without preparation.

[They agreed upon a very obscure passage in Ezekiel. Abelard insisted upon the students coming on the morrow, although they advised him to take more time to think over the passage.] I said indignantly that it was not my custom to reach my goal by long practice but by my wits. I added that they should either let me off altogether or come to my lecture when I wished them to come.

At my first lecture few were present, since it seemed absurd to them all that I, hitherto almost wholly inexperienced in the Scriptures, should undertake the task so suddenly. However, all who came were so pleased that, one and all, they praised my words and urged me to proceed with my comments according to my interpretation. As the affair became known, those who had not been present at the first lecture began to come in great numbers to the second and third. All were, moreover, eager to make notes from the very beginning, upon the explanation which I had given the first day.

[Not unnaturally Anselm was very much irritated and made the audacious and self-complacent lecturer a great deal of trouble later.]

Enough has been given from Abelard's famous biography to show something of his character. The reasons, too, are clear why he had many enemies. He has well been called the *enfant terrible* of the schools of his day.

In order to justify and promote a free discussion of the theological questions in which he was much interested, Abelard prepared his famous book, *Yea and Nay*. A brief summary of the introduction is given below.

189. Abelard's *Yea and Nay* (summarized). There are many seeming contradictions and even obscurities in the innumerable writings of the church fathers. Our respect for their authority should not stand in the way of an effort on our part to come at the truth. The obscurity and contradictions in ancient writings may be explained upon many grounds, and may be discussed without impugning the good faith and insight of the fathers. A writer may use different terms to mean the same thing, in order to avoid a monotonous repetition of the same word. Common, vague words may be employed in order that the common people may understand; and sometimes a writer sacrifices perfect accuracy in the interest of a clear general statement. Poetical, figurative language is often obscure and vague.

Not infrequently apocryphal works are attributed to the saints. Then, even the best authors often introduce the erroneous views of others and leave the reader to distinguish between the true and the false. Sometimes, as Augustine confesses in his own case, the fathers ventured to rely upon the opinions of others.

Doubtless the fathers might err; even Peter, the prince of the apostles, fell into error; what wonder that the saints do not always show themselves inspired? The fathers did not themselves believe that they, or their companions, were always right. Augustine found himself mistaken in some cases and did not hesitate to retract his errors. He warns his admirers not to look upon his letters as they would upon the Scriptures, but to accept only those things which, upon examination, they find to be true.

All writings belonging to this class are to be read with full freedom to criticise, and with no obligation to accept unquestioningly; otherwise the way would be blocked to all discussion, and posterity be deprived of the excellent intellectual exercise of debating difficult questions of language and presentation. But an explicit exception must be made in the case of the Old and New Testaments. In the Scriptures, when anything strikes us as absurd, we may not say that the writer erred, but that the scribe made a blunder in copying the manuscripts, or that there is an error in interpretation, or

that the passage is not understood. The fathers make a very careful distinction between the Scriptures and later works. They advocate a discriminating, not to say suspicious, use of the writings of their own contemporaries.

In view of these considerations, I have ventured to bring together various dicta of the holy fathers, as they came to mind, and to formulate certain questions which were suggested by the seeming contradictions in the statements. These questions ought to serve to excite tender readers to a zealous inquiry into truth and so sharpen their wits. The master key of knowledge is, indeed, a persistent and frequent questioning. Aristotle, the most clear-sighted of all the philosophers, was desirous above all things else to arouse this questioning spirit, for in his *Categories* he exhorts a student as follows: "It may well be difficult to reach a positive conclusion in these matters unless they be frequently discussed. It is by no means fruitless to be doubtful on particular points." By doubting we come to examine, and by examining we reach the truth.

Abelard supplies one hundred and fifty-eight problems, carefully balancing the authorities pro and con, and leaves the student to solve each problem as best he may. This doubtless shocked many of his contemporaries. Later scholastic lecturers did not hesitate to muster all possible objections to a particular position, but they always had a solution of their own to propose and defend.

Questions proposed by Abelard for discussion.

The following will serve as examples of the questions Abelard raised in the *Yea and Nay:*

Should human faith be based upon reason, or no?
Is God one, or no?
Is God a substance, or no?
Does the first Psalm refer to Christ, or no?
Is sin pleasing to God, or no?
Is God the author of evil, or no?

Is God all-powerful, or no?
Can God be resisted, or no?
Has God free will, or no?
Was the first man persuaded to sin by the devil, or no?
Was Adam saved, or no?
Did all the apostles have wives except John, or no?
Are the flesh and blood of Christ in very truth and essence present in the sacrament of the altar, or no?
Do we sometimes sin unwillingly, or no?
Does God punish the same sin both here and in the future, or no?
Is it worse to sin openly than secretly, or no?

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190. Privileges granted to students by Frederick Barbarossa.

In the thirteenth century the rulers, both ecclesiastical and lay, vied with one another in protecting the ever-growing body of students and in granting them exceptional privileges. The first instance of such protection is found in the following document issued by Frederick Barbarossa in 1158.

After a careful consideration of this subject by the bishops, abbots, dukes, counts, judges, and other nobles of our sacred palace, we, out of our piety, have granted this privilege to all scholars who travel for the sake of study, and especially to the professors of divine and sacred laws, namely: that they may go in safety to the places in which the studies are carried on, both they themselves and their messengers, and may dwell there in security. For we think it fitting that, so long as they conduct themselves with propriety, those should enjoy our approval and protection who, by their learning, enlighten the world and mold the life of our subjects to obey God and us, his minister. By reason of our special regard we desire to defend them from all injuries.

For who does not pity those who exile themselves through love for learning, who wear themselves out in poverty in place of riches, who expose their lives to all perils and often suffer bodily injury from the vilest men, — yet all these vexatious

things must be endured by the scholar. Therefore, we declare, by this general and ever-to-be-valid law, that in the future no one shall be so rash as to venture to inflict any injury on scholars, or to occasion any loss to them on account of a debt owed by an inhabitant of their province, — a thing which we have learned is sometimes done, by an evil custom. And let it be known to the violators of this decree, and also to those who shall at the time be the rulers of the places where the offense is committed, that a fourfold restitution of property shall be exacted from all those who are guilty and that, the mark of infamy being affixed to them by the law itself, they shall lose their office forever.

Moreover, if any one shall presume to bring a suit against them on account of any business, the choice in this matter shall be given to the scholars, who may summon the accusers to appear before their professors, or before the bishop of the city, to whom we have given jurisdiction in this matter. But if, in sooth, the accuser shall attempt to drag the scholar before another judge, even though his cause is a very just one, he shall lose his suit for such an attempt.

We also order this law to be inserted among the imperial constitutions under the title, *ne filius pro patre, etc.*

Given at Roncaglia, in the year of our Lord 1158, in the month of November.[1]

191. An account of the lectures at Paris. (From McCabe's *Abelard.*)

A modern writer gives the following picture of student life at Paris in Abelard's time.

At five or six o'clock each morning the great cathedral bell would ring out the summons to work. From the neighboring houses of the canons, from the cottages of the townsfolk, from the taverns, and hospices, and boarding-houses, the stream of the industrious would pour into the enclosure beside the cathedral. The master's beadle, who levied a

[1] The remarkable privileges granted by Philip Augustus to the students at Paris in 1200, and the protection extended to the same students by Pope Gregory IX in 1231, may be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 3, "The Mediæval Student," by Professor Munro.

precarious tax on the mob, would strew the floor of the lecture hall with hay or straw, according to the season, bring the master's text-book, with the notes of the lecture between lines or on the margin, to the solitary desk, and then retire to secure silence in the adjoining street. Sitting on their haunches in the hay, the right knee raised to serve as a desk for the waxed tablets, the scholars would take notes during the long hours of lecture (about six or seven), then hurry home — if they were industrious — to commit them to parchment while the light lasted.

The lecture over, the stream would flow back over the Little Bridge, filling the taverns and hospices, and pouring out over the great playing meadow, that stretched from the island to the present Champ de Mars. All the games of Europe were exhibited on that international play-ground: running, jumping, wrestling, hurling, fishing and swimming in the Seine, tossing and thumping the inflated ball — a game on which some minor poet of the day has left us an enthusiastic lyric — and especially the great game of war, in its earlier and less civilized form. The nations were not yet systematically grouped, and long and frequent were the dangerous conflicts.

192. Life of the students at Paris. (From *The History of the West*, by Jacques de Vitry; d. 1240.)

That the students had a bad reputation among the serious-minded may be inferred from the following.

Almost all the students at Paris, foreigners and natives, did absolutely nothing except learn or hear something new. Some studied merely to acquire knowledge, which is curiosity; others to acquire fame, which is vanity; still others for the sake of gain, which is cupidity and the vice of simony. Very few studied for their own edification or that of others. They wrangled and disputed not merely about the various factions and subjects of discussions; but the differences between the countries also caused dissensions, hatreds and virulent animosities among them, and they impudently uttered all kinds of affronts and insults against one another.

They affirmed that the English were drunkards and had tails; that the sons of France were proud, effeminate and carefully adorned like women. They said that the Germans were furious and obscene at their feasts; the Normans, vain and boastful; the Poitevins, traitors and always adventurers. The Burgundians they considered vulgar and stupid. The Bretons were reported to be fickle and changeable and were often reproached for the death of Arthur. The Lombards were called avaricious, wicked and cowardly; the Romans, seditious, turbulent and slanderous; the Sicilians, tyrannical, brigands and ravishers; the Flemings, fickle, prodigal, gluttonous, yielding as butter, and slothful. After such insults as these in words they often came to blows.

V. Supremacy of Aristotle in the Mediæval Universities: Scholasticism

Aristotle, utilizing all that the previous Greek philosophers, including Socrates and Plato, had discovered, augmented what the past had bequeathed to him by his own thought and investigations. He then gathered the whole vast and heterogeneous material into a series of works summing up the achievements of the Greeks in all the more important fields of knowledge, — logic, metaphysics, physics, natural history, politics, ethics, rhetoric, etc. His works form an encyclopedia of ancient thought and discovery. Abelard possessed none of Aristotle's works except a part of his logical treatises, but shortly after the year 1200 practically all of his works became known in Paris. The abstract scientific discussion and the unreligious character of his books offended some good people, but the enthusiasm for his incomparable learning and insight was so great that he was generally held in the utmost veneration.

His Arabic commentator, Averroës, shared his fame, and promoted the superstitious awe in which "The Philosopher" was held by the following eulogy, to be found in the preface to his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*.

193. Averroës on Aristotle's greatness.

Aristotle was the wisest of the Greeks and constituted and completed logic, physics, and metaphysics. I say that he constituted these sciences, because all the works on these subjects previous to him do not deserve to be mentioned and were completely eclipsed by his writings. I say that he put the finishing touches on these sciences, because none of those who have succeeded him up to our time, to wit, during nearly fifteen hundred years, have been able to add anything to his writings or find in them any error of any importance. Now that all this should be found in one man is a strange and miraculous thing, and this privileged being deserves to be called divine rather than human.

Attitude of the Church toward Aristotle's works.

The Church at first opposed the study of Aristotle's books on natural philosophy, and forbade, in 1210, their discussion at Paris. Five years later the papal legate ordered that no one should lecture upon either the metaphysics or natural philosophy of Aristotle, or discuss the commentary of Averroës. In spite of this we find the University of Toulouse advertising in 1229 that the various treatises on natural science which had been prohibited at Paris might be read there freely by all those who cared to penetrate into the secrets of nature.

When, about 1230, Pope Gregory IX undertook a partial reorganization of the demoralized University of Paris, he learned that the prohibited books of natural science by Aristotle contained many useful matters, along with some reprehensible things. Three masters were consequently appointed to examine the works with penetration and prudence and suppress everything which

might lead to scandal or harm the reader, so that the rest might become a safe subject for study. This was a difficult task, and the pope's plan was not carried out. It would seem that the monks and some of the theologians remained suspicious of Aristotle during pretty much the whole of the thirteenth century.

Editing of Aristotle's works by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas.

The distinguished Dominican monk, Albertus Magnus, undertook, however, to put Aristotle in a form suitable for general study. He did this by writing a series of works in which he followed Aristotle's classification of the sciences, and in which he incorporated his own notions and discoveries and the suggestions of the Arabic commentators. While this was useful as a form of popularization, Aristotle roused such interest in the minds of many of the scholars of the time that they began to ask to see his work in its original form.

It was perhaps due to this demand that Thomas Aquinas undertook, with a collaborator, a new translation, or revision of the Latin version, of many of Aristotle's works, and then added a commentary on the text. Aquinas appears to have done his work with extraordinary thoroughness and to have, in general, faithfully reproduced the thought, although his translation, like Aristotle's own works, has little elegance of style.

View of Aquinas on the progress of thought.

Aquinas did not, however, share the unreasonable admiration for Aristotle which was expressed by the followers of Averroës. He declares that "the object of the study of philosophy is not to learn what men have thought, but what is the real truth of the matter." He says, moreover, in his commentary on *The Metaphysics:* "Anything that a single man can contribute by his labors to the knowledge of truth is necessarily

trifling in comparison with our knowledge. Nevertheless, when all the contributions are correlated, selected, and brought together, they produce something really great. This is readily seen in the case of the various branches of knowledge where, by the studies and insight of many investigators, a marvelous increase results."

Roger Bacon's views.

Roger Bacon, as usual, took a rather gloomy view of the situation. "The books and sciences of Aristotle," he says, "are the foundations of all the study of wisdom, and whoever is ignorant of his works labors in vain and takes useless pains. Yet the sciences in general, such as logic, natural philosophy, mathematics, are so badly translated that no mortal can really understand anything of them, as I myself have learned by sad experience. . . . Therefore I am sure it would be better for the Latins if the wisdom of Aristotle had not been translated at all than translated so obscurely and incorrectly." Bacon declares, further, that he has seen the translations made by Thomas Aquinas and his colleague, and that they are altogether incorrect and should be carefully avoided.

In his remarkable *History of the Mediæval Universities* Rashdall thus describes the work of the great Dominican scholars.

194. Rashdall on Aquinas and his work.

The Dominican theologians made peace between the contending factions by placing Aristotle and the fathers side by side, and deferring as reverently to the one as to the other, except on the few fundamental points upon which the former could not be interpreted into harmony with the latter. The scholastic form of argument, which attained its full development in Aquinas, — a chain of authorities and syllogisms in defence of one thesis, another series for the

opposite view, a conclusion in harmony with Augustine or Aristotle, as the case might be, and a reply to the opposing arguments by means of ingenious distinction or reconciliation, — afforded exceptional facilities for the harmonious combination of orthodoxy and intellectuality.[1]

The Dominicans showed the Latin churchman how to be ingenious, startling, brilliant, even destructive, without suspicion of heresy. [St.] Bernard would have been shocked at the idea of inventing or even of fairly stating objections to the Catholic Faith. By the time of Aquinas it was felt that the better the imaginary opponent's case could be stated, the more credit there was in refuting it. The scholar's intellectual enjoyment of thirty ingenious arguments against the Immortality of the Soul was not diminished by the thirty-six equally ingenious arguments with which the attack would immediately be met. In scholastic disputation restless intellectual activity found an innocent outlet; love of controversy and speculation, the real ardour for truth and knowledge which distinguished the age of Berengar[2] and the age of Abelard, had for the most part degenerated. . . .

Hitherto Philosophy had been either an avowed foe to Theology or a dangerous and suspected ally. By the genius of the great Dominicans all that was Christian, or not unchristian, in Aristotle was woven into the very substance and texture of what was henceforth more and more to grow into the accredited Theology of the Catholic Church. The contents of whole treatises of the pagan Philosopher — including even his great treatise on Ethics — are embodied in the *Summa Theologiae* of Aquinas, still the great classic of the Seminaries. To that marvellous structure — strangely compounded of solid thought, massive reasoning, baseless subtlety, childish credulity, lightest fancy — Aristotle has contributed assuredly not less than St. Augustine.

[1] An example of the scholastic method of arraying arguments and reaching conclusions will be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. III, No. 6.

[2] A philosopher of the eleventh century.

VI. Roger Bacon and the Beginning of Modern Experimental Science

The following passage makes clear Bacon's attitude toward investigation, and also shows that he was not the only one who was turning his attention to experiment, which was to prove so fruitful in the following centuries.

195. Roger Bacon's eulogy of one who devoted himself to experimental science.

One man I know, and one only, who can be praised for his achievements in experimental science.[1] Of discourses and battles of words he takes no heed: he pursues the works of wisdom and in them finds satisfaction. What others strive to see dimly and blindly, like bats blinking at the sun in the twilight, he gazes at in the full light of day, because he is a master of experiment. Through experiment he gains knowledge of natural things, medical, chemical, indeed of everything in the heavens and on earth.

He is ashamed that things should be known to laymen, old women, soldiers, plowmen, of which he is ignorant. Therefore he has looked closely into the doings of those who melt metals and who work in gold and silver and other metals and in minerals of all sorts; he knows everything relating to the art of war, the making of weapons, and the chase; he has looked carefully into agriculture, mensuration, and farming work; he has even taken note of remedies, lot casting, and charms used by old women and by wizards and magicians, and of the devices and deceptions of conjurers, so that nothing which deserves investigation should escape him, and in order that he might be able to expose the impostures of the magicians.

If philosophy is to be carried to its perfection and is to be handled with certainty and advantage, his aid is indispensable. As for reward, he neither receives it nor looks for it. If he frequented the courts of kings and princes he would easily find those who would bestow upon him both

[1] Of Peter of Maricourt, to whom Bacon refers, very little is known.

honor and wealth. Or if he would show the results of his researches in Paris the whole world would follow him. But since either of these courses would hinder him from pursuing the great experiments in which he takes delight, he puts honor and wealth aside, knowing well that his knowledge would secure him wealth whenever he chose. For the last three years he has been working at the invention of a mirror which should produce combustion at a fixed distance, and he will, with God's aid, soon reach his end.

In a curious letter "On the hidden workings of nature and art and the emptyness of magic," Bacon forecasts the wonderful achievements which he believed would come with the progress of applied science.

196. Bacon foresees marvelous progress in inventions. (Slightly condensed.)

I will now enumerate the marvelous results of art and nature which will make all kinds of magic appear trivial and unworthy. Instruments for navigation can be made which will do away with the necessity of rowers, so that great vessels, both in rivers and on the sea, shall be borne about with only a single man to guide them and with greater speed than if they were full of men. And carriages can be constructed to move without animals to draw them, and with incredible velocity. Machines for flying can be made in which a man sits and turns an ingenious device by which skillfully contrived wings are made to strike the air in the manner of a flying bird. Then arrangements can be devised, compact in themselves, for raising and lowering weights indefinitely great. . . . Bridges can be constructed ingeniously so as to span rivers without any supports.

Some other hopes expressed elsewhere in this letter seem a bit fantastic, even to us, habituated as we are to the most incredible achievements. We may, however, yet learn to make gold and to prolong human life almost indefinitely, as Bacon believed would be possible.

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Mediæval Tales, edited by HENRY MORLEY in his Universal Library.

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[1] One of these satires, "The Gospel according to the Marks of Silver," is translated by Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, p. 475.

attributed to Mandeville, but contains the original accounts upon which it was based.

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C. Materials for advanced study.

Even a very brief bibliography for the vast subjects of Romance and Germanic philology, mediæval art in its various manifestations, and the scholastic philosophy would hardly be looked for in the present volume. The chief works on the economic and industrial conditions have been already enumerated at the close of the previous chapter. It only remains, therefore, to mention a few treatises in French and German to which the student of history, anxious to get a general idea of the range of mediæval culture and thought, may most profitably turn.

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Roger Bacon's works.

The *Opus Majus* of ROGER BACON, edited with introduction and analytical table by J. H. BRIDGES, 2 vols., Oxford, 1897. The analysis which fills pp. xciii–clxxxvii is so full and satisfactory that it almost takes the place of a condensed translation. For several of the other important works of Bacon, one must turn to FR. ROGERI BACON *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, edited by J. S. BREWER (Rolls Series), 1859. This volume contains the *Opus tertium*, the *Opus minus*, and the *Compendium philosophiae*. Brewer's introduction is valuable.

Something was said of the writings of Aquinas and the theologians at the close of Chapter XVI, above, p. 370.

CHAPTER XX

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

I. Froissart's Account of the Battle of Crécy

197. The great battle between the French and English at Crécy (1346). (From Froissart's *Chronicles*.)

[Having reached a point near Crécy,] the king of England was well informed how the French king followed after him to fight. Then he said to his company: "Let us take here some plot of ground, for we will go no farther till we have seen our enemies. I have good cause here to abide them, for I am on the right heritage of the queen, my mother, the which land was given her at her marriage; I will challenge it of mine adversary, Philip of Valois." And because he had not the eighth part in number of men that the French king had, therefore he commanded his marshals to choose a plot of ground somewhat for his advantage; and so they did, and thither the king and his host went. . . .

That night the king made a supper to all his chief lords of his host, and made them good cheer; and when they were all departed to take their rest, then the king entered into his oratory and kneeled down before the altar, praying God devoutly that if he fought the next day he might achieve the expedition to his honor. Then about midnight he laid him down to rest, and in the morning he rose betimes and heard mass, and the prince his son with him; and the most part of his company were confessed and received the communion; and after the mass was said, he commanded every man to be armed and to draw to the field, to the same place before appointed. . . .

Then [after arranging his army in three divisions,] the king lept on a palfrey, with a white rod in his hand, one of his marshals on the one hand and the other on the other hand. He rode from rank to rank, desiring every man to

take heed that day to his right and honor. He spake it so sweetly and with so good countenance and merry cheer that all such as were discomfited took courage in the seeing and hearing of him. And when he had thus visited all his battles [i.e. divisions] it was then nine of the day. Then he caused every man to eat and drink a little, and so they did at their leisure. And afterward they ordered again their battles. Then every man lay down on the earth, his helmet and his bow by him, to be the more fresher when their enemies should come.

King Edward cheers his forces, who arrange themselves with care and deliberation.

This Saturday the French king rose betimes and heard mass in Abbeville, in his lodging in the abbey of St. Peter, and he departed after the sun rising. [He dispatched four knights to view the English, who let them alone and permitted them to return to the king as they had come. The knights advised the king that the French should defer the attack until the morrow.] Then the king commanded that it should be so done. Then his two marshals rode, one before, another behind, saying to every banner, "Tarry and abide here in the name of God and St. Denis." They that were foremost tarried, but they that were behind would not tarry, but rode forth, and said how they would in no wise abide till they were as far forward as the foremost. And when they that were before saw them come on behind, then they rode forward again, so that the king nor his marshals could not rule them.

Hasty and disorderly approach of the French.

So they rode without order or good array till they came in sight of their enemies; and as soon as the foremost saw them, they reculed them aback without good array, whereof they behind had marvel and were abashed, and thought that the foremost company had been fighting. Then they might have had leisure and room to have gone forward if they had listed, but some went forth while some abode still.

The commons, of whom all the ways between Abbeville and Crécy were full, when they saw that they were near to their enemies, took their swords and cried, "Down with them! Let us slay them all." There were no man, though he were present, that could imagine or show the truth of the

evil order that was among the French party, — and yet they were a marvelous great number. What I write in this book I learned especially of the Englishmen, who beheld their dealing; and also certain knights of Sir John of Hainault's, who was always about King Philip, showed me what they knew.

The Englishmen, who were in three battles lying on the ground to rest them, as soon as they saw the Frenchmen approach, they rose upon their feet, fair and easily without any haste, and arranged their battles. The first was the prince's battle, and the archers there stood in manner of a harrow and the men-at-arms in the bottom of the battle. The earl of Northampton and the earl of Arundel with the second battle were on the wing in good order, ready to comfort the prince's battle, if need were.

The Genoese mercenaries forced to lead the attack.

The lords and knights of France came not to the engagement together in good order, for some came before and some came after, in such evil order that one of them did trouble another. When the French king saw the Englishmen his blood changed and he said to his marshals, "Make the Genoese go on before and begin the battle in the name of God and St. Denis." There were of the Genoese crossbows about fifteen thousand, but they were so weary of going afoot that day a six leagues armed with their crossbows that they said to their constables, "We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the case to do any great deed of arms; we have more need of rest." . . .

Also the same season there fell a great rain, and a flash of lightning with a terrible thunder, and before the rain there came flying over both battles a great number of crows for fear of the tempest coming. Then anon the air began to wax clear, and the sun to shine fair and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmen's eyen and on the Englishmen's backs.

When the Genoese were assembled together and began to approach they uttered a great cry to abash the Englishmen, but these stood still and stirred not for all that. Then the Genoese a second time made a fell cry and stept forward a

little, but the Englishmen removed not one foot. Thirdly they shouted again and went forth until they came within shot. Then they shot fiercely with their crossbows. Then the English archers stepped forth one pace and let fly their arrows so wholly and so thick that it seemed snow. When the Genoese felt the arrows piercing through their heads, arms, and breasts, many of them cast down their crossbows and did cut their strings and returned discomfited.

When the French king saw them fly away he said, "Slay these rascals, for they shall let and trouble us without reason." Then ye should have seen the men-at-arms dash in among them and they killed a great number of them; and ever still the Englishmen shot where they saw the thickest press. The sharp arrows ran into the men-at-arms and into their horses, and many fell, horses and men, among the Genoese, and when they were down they could not rise again; the press was so thick that one overthrew another. And also among the Englishmen there were certain rascals that went afoot with great knives, and they went in among the men-at-arms and slew and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights, and squires; whereof the king of England was after displeased, for he had rather that they had been taken prisoners. . . .

[The division led by the king's son, the Black Prince, being hard pressed,] they sent a messenger to the king, who was on a little windmill hill. Then the knight said to the king, "Sir, the earl of Warwick and the earl of Oxford, Sir Raynold Cobham, and others, such as be about the prince your son, are fiercely fought withal and are sorely handled; wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they will have much ado." Then the king said, "Is my son dead, or hurt, or on the earth felled?" "No, sir," quoth the knight, "but he is hardly matched, wherefor he hath need of your aid." "Well," said the king, "return to him and to them that sent you hither, and say to them that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive; and also say to them that they

suffer him this day to win his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will that this expedition be his, and the honor thereof, and to them that be about him."

II. How King John of France was taken Prisoner by the English at Poitiers

198. Capture of King John (1356). (From Froissart's *Chronicles*.)

Ofttimes the adventures of amours and of war are more fortunate and marvelous than any man can think or wish. Truly this battle, the which was near to Poitiers in the fields of Beauvoir and Maupertuis, was right great and perilous, and many deeds of arms there were done the which all came not to knowledge. The fighters on both sides endured much pain. King John with his own hands did that day marvels in arms. He had an ax in his hands wherewith he defended himself and fought in the breaking of the press. . . .

The pursuit endured to the gates of Poitiers. There were many slain and beaten down, horse and man, for they of Poitiers closed their gates and would suffer none to enter; wherefore in the street before the gate was horrible murder, men hurt and beaten down. The Frenchmen yielded themselves as far as they might know an Englishman: there were divers English archers that had four, five, six prisoners. . . .

Then there was a great press to take the king, and such as knew him cried, "Sir, yield you, or else ye are but dead." [A French knight in the service of the English king made his way through the press] and said in good French, "Sir, yield you." The king beheld the knight and said, "To whom shall I yield me? Where is my cousin, the prince of Wales? If I might see him, I would speak with him." The knight answered and said, "Sir, he is not here; but yield you to me and I shall bring you to him." "Who be you?" quoth the king. "Sir," quoth he, "I am Denis of Morbeke, a knight of Artois; but I serve the king of England because I am banished from the realm of France and have forfeited all that I had there." Then the king gave him his right gauntlet, saying, "I yield me to you."

The prince of Wales, who was courageous and cruel as a lion, took that day great pleasure to fight and chase his enemies. The lord John Chandos, who was with him, all that day never left him nor never took heed of taking any prisoner. Then at the end of the battle he said to the prince, "Sir, it were good that you rested here and set your banner a-high in this bush, that your people may draw hither, for they be sore spread abroad, nor can I see no more banners nor pennons of the French party. Wherefore, sir, rest and refresh you, for ye be sore chafed."

[Then the prince sent two lords to get news of the French king.] These two lords took their horses and departed from the prince and rode up a little hill to look about them. Then they perceived a flock of men-at-arms coming together right slowly, and there was the French king afoot in great peril, for the Englishmen and Gascons were his masters. They had taken him from Sir Denis Morbeke perforce, and such as were most of force said, "I have taken him"; "Nay," quoth another, "I have taken him." So they strave which should have him. Then the French king, to eschew that peril, said, "Sirs, strive not: lead me courteously, and my son, to my cousin the prince, and strive not for my taking, for I am so great a lord as to make you all rich." The king's words somewhat appeased them. Howbeit, ever as they went they made riot and brawled for the taking of the king.

When the two aforesaid lords saw and heard that noise and strife among them, they came to them and said, "Sirs, what is the matter that ye strive for?" "Sirs," said one of them, "it is for the French king, who is here taken prisoner, and there be more than ten knights and squires that challenge the taking of him and of his son." Then the two lords entered into the press and caused every man to draw back, and commanded them in the prince's name, on pain of their heads, to make no more noise nor to approach the king no nearer without they were commanded. Then every man gave room to the lords, and they alighted and did their reverence to the king, and so brought him and his son in peace to the prince of Wales. . . .

How the Black Prince received the French king with knightly courtesy.

The same day of the battle at night the prince made a supper in his lodging to the French king and to the most of the great lords that were prisoners. The prince made the king and his son, the lord James of Bourbon, the lord John of Artois, the earl of Tancreville, the earl of Estampes, the earl Dammartin, the earl Joinville, and the lord of Partenay, to sit all at one board, and the other lords, knights, and squires at other tables. And always the prince served before the king as humbly as he could, and would not sit at the king's board for any desire that the king could make, for he said he was not sufficient to sit at the table with so great a prince as the king was.

Then he said to the king: "Sir, for God's sake, make none evil nor heavy cheer, though God this day did not consent to follow your will; for, sir, surely the king, my father, shall bear you as much honor and amity as he may do, and shall accord with you so reasonably that ye shall ever be friends together after. And, sir, methink ye ought to rejoice, though the expedition be not as ye would have had it, for this day ye have won the high renown of prowess and have surpassed this day in valiantness all other of your party. Sir, I say not this to mock you, for all that be of our party, that saw every man's deeds, are plainly accorded by true sentence to give you the prize and chaplet."

III. Fearful Devastation wrought in France by the Hundred Years' War

199. Sack of Limoges (1370) by the Black Prince. (From Froissart's *Chronicles*.)

[Having mined the town walls,] the miners set fire into their mine, and so the next morning, as the prince had ordained, there fell down a great piece of the wall and filled the moats, whereof the Englishmen were glad and were ready armed in the field to enter the town. The foot-men might well enter at their ease, and so they did, and ran to the gate and beat down the fortifying and barriers, for there was no defense against them: it was done so suddenly that they of the town were not aware thereof.

Then the prince, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Cambridge, the earl of Pembroke, Sir Guichard d'Angle, and all the others, with their companies, entered into the city, and all other foot-men ready apparelled to do evil, and to pill and rob the city, and to slay men, women, and children; for so it was commanded them to do. It was a great pity to see the men, women, and children that kneeled down on their knees before the prince for mercy. But he was so inflamed with ire that he took no heed of them, so that none was heard, but all put to death as they were met withal, and such as were nothing culpable.

There was no pity taken of the poor people who wrought never no manner of treason, yet they bought it dearer than the great personages, such as had done the evil and trespass. There was not so hard a heart within the city of Limoges and if he had any remembrance of God, but that wept piteously for the great mischief that they saw before their eyen, for more than three thousand men, women, and children were slain that day. God have mercy on their souls, for I trow they were martyrs.

And thus entering into the city, a certain company of Englishmen entered into the bishop's palace, and there they found the bishop; and so they brought him to the prince's presence, who beheld him right fiercely and felly, and the best word that he could have of him was how he would have his head stricken off, and so he was had out of his sight. . . .

Thus the city of Limoges was pilled, robbed, and clean brent and brought to destruction.

Father Denifle, a distinguished Dominican scholar, has brought together from the Vatican archives — of which he is the head — and from other sources a volume of letters and other material depicting the fearful results of the Hundred Years' War in France, especially upon the churches and monasteries. The following extracts relating to the period following the death of Joan of Arc

will give some idea of the general impression produced by reading his book.

200. How the count of Arundel burned a town and hanged the inhabitants (*ca.* 1433).

The count of Arundel, John Fitz-Alain, attacked Millé and its church with fire. The women, boys, and old men took refuge in the tower of the church, but were soon surrounded by flames. The lead of the roof melted and fell in burning drops on the miserable folk below, and even the molten metal of the bells ran down upon them. All but two perished. The fire not only destroyed the church, but all the houses within a wide circuit to the number of more than seven hundred. The wretched inhabitants and the cultivators of the soil were ordered to be hung.

Over one half of the churches about Quercy destroyed by 1441.

Out of one thousand churches in the region of Quercy, when the war with the English was done there were scarce three or four hundred left in which services could be held, so completely was everything devastated and consumed. Certain parishes, for example those of Fraissinet and St. Caprassius, were entirely deserted by their former inhabitants, so that the bishop of Bourges was forced to give the lands belonging to his temporalities as fiefs to those living at a distance.

201. Conditions in the time of Charles VII.

Charles VI being dead, Charles VII succeeded to his father in the kingdom, in the year of our Lord 1422, when he was about twenty-two years of age. In his time, owing to the long wars which had raged within and without, the lethargy and cowardliness of the officers and commanders who were under him, the destruction of all military discipline and order, the rapacity of the troopers, and the general dissolution into which all things had fallen, such destruction had been wrought that from the river Loire to the Seine, — even to the Somme, — the farmers were dead or had fled, and almost all the fields had for many years lain without cultivation or any one to cultivate them. A few districts might indeed be excepted, where if any agriculture remained, it was because they were far from cities, towns, or castles,

and in consequence the constant excursions of the despoilers could not be extended to them. Lower Normandy, embracing the bishoprics of Bayeux and Coutances, which were under English rule, were far from the headquarters of the enemy, nor could they be easily reached by the depredators. They therefore remained somewhat better off in the matter of population and cultivators, but nevertheless were often afflicted by the greatest misfortunes, as will appear later.

We have ourselves beheld the vast regions of Champagne, Brie, Chartres, Perche, Beauvais, . . . Amiens, Abbeville, Soissons, Laon, and beyond toward Hainault, well-nigh deserted, untilled, without husbandmen, grown up to weeds and briers. In many places where fruit trees could flourish these had grown up into dense forests. The vestiges of such ruin, unless the divine clemency shall aid mere human endeavor, will, it is to be feared, last for long years to come.

If any kind of cultivation was still carried on in the regions enumerated, it could only be done close to cities, towns, or castles, no farther away than the watch could be seen, stationed on a high lookout, whence he could observe the robbers as they approached. He would then give the alarm by means of a bell, or a hunter's horn, to those in the fields or vineyard, so that they could betake themselves to a place of safety. This happened so frequently in many places that so soon as the oxen and plow animals were loosed, having heard the signal of the watch, they would, taught by long experience, rush to a place of safety in a state of terror. Even the pigs and sheep did the same.

IV. "The Vision of Piers the Plowman"

202. Extracts from *The Vision of Piers the Plowman.*

From a literary standpoint, by far the most important of the many productions in prose and verse relating to the conditions in England in the times of the Peasant Revolt is *The Vision of Piers Plowman,* ascribed to

Langland, who appears to have been born about 1332, and to have given the last revision to his poem shortly before the year 1400. Much is said by Langland of the hard lot of the peasant, the abuses in the Church, the seven cardinal sins, and the various Christian virtues. The following passages in modern English prose illustrate the spirit, charm, and interest of the little book.[1]

What Piers had withal to stave off hunger until the harvest.

"I have no penny," said Piers, "to buy pullets, nor geese, nor pigs, but I have two green cheeses, a few curds and cream, and an oat-cake, and two loaves of beans and bran baked for my children. And yet I say, by my soul, I have no salt bacon nor eggs forsooth to make collops, but I have parsley and leeks and many cabbages, and eke a cow and a calf and a cart mare to draw my dung a-field while the drought lasteth, and by this provision we must live till Lammastide; and by that I hope to have harvest in my croft, and then may I get thy dinner [O Hunger] as it pleaseth me well."

How Covetousness appeared.

Then [among the cardinal sins] came Covetousness. I cannot describe him, so hungry and hollow Sir Harvey looked. He was beetle-browed and also thick-lipped, with two bleared eyes like a blind hag; and like a leathern purse his cheeks lolled about even lower than his chin and they trembled with old age. And his beard was beslobbered with bacon like a bondsman's. A hood was on his head above a lousy hat, and he was in a tawny coat twelve winters old, and full of vermin, and all dirty and torn to rags, and full of creeping lice; — except a louse were a good leaper he could not have walked on that scurvy coat, it was so threadbare.

The poet gives at the close of his poem his notion of the relative worth of good conduct ("Do-well") as against confidence in papal pardons and in masses said after one's death.

[1] I borrow, with slight changes, from Miss Kate Warren's spirited and scholarly prose version (London, 1899).

And all this maketh me think upon my dream. And how the priest found no pardon like Do-well and thought that Do-well surpassed indulgences, saying mass two or three years for departed souls, and bishops' letters; and how Do-well shall be worthier received at the day of doom, and shall surpass all the pardons of St. Peter's church.

Now the pope hath power to grant people the power to pass into heaven without any penance. This is our belief, as learned men teach us. *Quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum in celis*, etc.[1] And so I truly believe (Lord forbid otherwise!) that pardon and penance and prayers indeed cause souls to be saved which have sinned deadly seven times. But to trust these three-year masses methinketh truly is not so safe for the soul, certes, as is Do-well.

Therefore, I counsel you, ye men who are rich on this earth and have three-year masses in trust of your treasure, be ye never the bolder to break the ten commandments; and especially, ye masters, mayors, judges, who are held for wise men and have the wealth of this world and can purchase pardon and the pope's bulls. At the dreadful doom when the dead shall rise and all come before Christ to render account, — how thou didst lead thy life here and didst keep his laws, and how thou didst do day by day, the doom will declare. A bagful of pardons there, or provincial letters, — or though ye be found in the fraternity of all the four monastic orders, and have doublefold indulgences, — except Do-well help you, I set your letters and pardons at the worth of a pea shell!

V. Charles the Bold of Burgundy and the Swiss

203. Charles the Bold and the Swiss. (From the *Memoires* of Commines.)

What ease or what pleasure did Charles, duke of Burgundy, enjoy more than our master, King Louis? In his youth, indeed, he had less trouble, for he did not begin to enter upon any action till nearly the two-and-thirtieth year of his age; so that before that time he lived in great ease

[1] "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," etc.

and quiet. . . . From the time Duke Charles undertook his war to recover the towns in Picardy (which our master had redeemed from Duke Philip), and joined himself with the lords of the kingdom in the war called the Public Good, what pleasure, what tranquillity had he? He had continual trouble and labor, without the least cessation or refreshment, either to his body or mind; for ambition got entire possession of his heart and constantly spurred him on to attempt new conquests.

Arduous life of Charles the Bold.

He was always in the field during summer, exposing his person to the greatest danger, taking the care and command of the whole army upon himself; and yet he thought his work too little. He was the first that rose and the last that went to bed in the camp; and he slept in his clothes, like the poorest foot soldier in the army. In winter, when the campaign was over, he was busily employed about raising money; six hours every morning he set apart for conferences, and for giving audience to ambassadors. And in this perpetual hurry of affairs he ended his days, and was killed by the Swiss in the battle of Nancy; so that it cannot be said that he enjoyed one happy day from the time of his beginning to aggrandize himself to the hour of his death. And then what were the fruits of all his pains and labor? Or what necessity was there of his so doing? — since he was a rich prince, and already had towns and territories large enough to have made him happy, if he could have been contented with them.

How the Swiss defeated Charles the Bold at Granson (1476).

All hopes of an accommodation with the Swiss being entirely vanished, their ambassadors returned to acquaint their masters with the duke of Burgundy's absolute refusal of their propositions, and to make preparations for their defense. The duke marched with his army into the Pays de Vaud, which the Swiss had taken from the Count of Romont, and he took three or four towns belonging to Monsieur de Château-Guyon, which the Swiss had seized upon but defended very ill. From thence he advanced to besiege a place called Granson (which also belonged to

Monsieur de Château-Guyon), into which they had thrown seven or eight hundred of their best troops; and because it was near to them, they had resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The duke's army was mightily increased, for he daily received considerable reënforcements out of Lombardy and Savoy; for he employed strangers rather than his own subjects, of whom he might have formed a sufficient army that would have been more faithful and valiant. . . .

He had a fine train of artillery, and he lived in great pomp and magnificence in the camp, to show his grandeur and riches to the Italian and German ambassadors who were sent to him; and he had all his valuable jewels, plate, and rich furniture with him: besides he had great designs upon the duchy of Milan, where he expected to find a considerable party of sympathizers.

It was not many days after the duke's investing Granson before the garrison, being terrified with his continual battering it with cannon, surrendered at discretion, and were all put to the sword. The Swiss were assembled, but they were not very numerous, as several of them have told me (for that country produced not so many soldiers as was imagined, and still fewer than at present, because of late many of them have left their husbandry and followed the wars). . . .

The duke of Burgundy, contrary to the advice of his officers, resolved to advance and meet the enemy at the foot of the mountains, to his great disadvantage; for he was already posted in a place much more proper for an engagement, being fortified on one side with his artillery and on the other by a lake, so that to all appearance there was no fear of his being injured by the enemy. He had detached a hundred of his archers to secure a certain pass at the entrance of the mountains, and was advancing forward himself, when the Swiss attacked him, while the greatest part of his army was still in the plain.

The foremost troops designed to fall back; but the infantry that were behind, supposing they were running away, retreated toward their camp, and some of them behaved themselves handsomely enough; but, in the end, when they

arrived in their camp, they wanted courage to make a stand and defend themselves, and they all fled, and the Swiss possessed themselves of their camp, in which were all their artillery and a vast number of tents and pavilions, besides a great deal of valuable plunder, for they saved nothing but their lives.

The duke lost all his finest rings, but of men, not above seven men-at-arms; the rest fled, and the duke with them. It may more properly be said of him, "that he lost his honor and his wealth in one day," than it was of King John of France, who, after a brave defense, was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers.

This was the first misfortune that ever happened to the duke of Burgundy in his whole life, for in the rest of his enterprises he always acquired either honor or advantage. But what a mighty loss did he sustain that day by his perverseness and scorn of good advice! How greatly did his family suffer! In what a miserable condition it is at present, and how like to continue so! How many great princes and states became his enemies, and openly declared against him, who but the day before the battle were his friends, or at least pretended to be so!

And what was the cause of this war? A miserable cart-load of sheepskins that the count of Romont had taken from a Swiss in his passage through his estates. If God Almighty had not forsaken the duke of Burgundy, it is scarce conceivable that he would have exposed himself to such great dangers upon so small and trivial an occasion; especially considering the offers the Swiss had made him, and that his conquest of such enemies would yield him neither profit nor honor; for at that time the Swiss were not in such esteem as now, and no people in the world could be poorer. A gentleman who had been one of their first ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy told me that one of his chief arguments to dissuade the duke from attacking them was that there was nothing for him to gain from them; for their country was barren and poor, and he believed that, if all his countrymen were taken prisoners, all the money they

could raise for their ransom would not buy spurs and bridles for the duke's army.

How the poor Swiss mountaineers misunderstood the treasure that fell into their hands.

The poor Swiss were mightily enriched by the plunder of the duke's camp. At first they did not understand the value of the treasure they were masters of, especially the common soldiers. One of the richest and most magnificent tents in the world was cut into pieces. There were some of them that sold quantities of dishes and plates of silver for about two sous of our money, supposing they had been pewter.

His great diamond (perhaps the largest and finest jewel in Christendom), with a large pearl fixed to it, was taken up by a Swiss, put up again into the case, thrown under a wagon, taken up again by the same soldier, and after all offered to a priest for a florin, who bought it and sent it to the magistrates of that country, who returned him three francs as a sufficient reward. They took also three very rich jewels, called the Three Brothers, another large ruby called La Hatte, and another called the Ball of Flanders, which were the fairest and richest in the world; besides a prodigious quantity of other goods, which has since taught them what fine things may be purchased for money; inasmuch as their victories, the esteem the king had of their service afterwards, and the presents he made them, have enriched them prodigiously.

VI. Louis XI of France

204. Character and troublous death of Louis XI. (From the *Memoires* of Commines.)

Small hopes and comfort ought poor and inferior people to have in this world, considering what so great a king suffered and underwent, and how he was at last forced to leave all, and could not, with all his care and diligence, protract his life one single hour. I knew him, and was entertained in his service in the flower of his age and at the height of his prosperity, yet I never saw him free from labor and care.

The king's laborious interest in the chase.

Of all diversions he loved hunting and hawking in their seasons, but his chief delight was in dogs. . . . In hunting, his eagerness and pain were equal to his pleasure, for his chase was the stag, which he always ran down. He

rose very early in the morning, rode sometimes a great distance, and would not leave his sport, let the weather be never so bad. And when he came home at night he was often very weary and generally in a violent passion with some of his courtiers or huntsmen; for hunting is a sport not always to be managed according to the master's direction; yet, in the opinion of most people, he understood it as well as any prince of his time. He was continually at these sports, lodging in the country villages to which his recreations led him, till he was interrupted by business; for during the most part of the summer there was constantly war between him and Charles, duke of Burgundy, while in the winter they made truces.

Trouble over Roussillon.

He was also involved in some trouble about the county of Roussillon, with John, king of Arragon, father of Peter of Castile, who at present is king of Spain. For though both of them were poor, and already at variance with their subjects in Barcelona and elsewhere, and though the son had nothing but the expectation of succeeding to the throne of Don Henry of Castile, his wife's brother (which fell to him afterwards), yet they made considerable resistance; for that province being entirely devoted to their interest, and they being universally beloved by the people, they gave our king abundance of trouble, and the war lasted till his death, and many brave men lost their lives in it, and his treasury was exhausted by it. So that he had but a little time during the whole year to spend in pleasure, and even then the fatigues he underwent were excessive.

When his body was at rest his mind was at work, for he had affairs in several places at once, and would concern himself as much in those of his neighbors as in his own, putting officers of his own over all the great families, and endeavoring to divide their authority as much as possible. When he was at war he labored for a peace or a truce, and when he had obtained it he was impatient for war again. He troubled himself with many trifles in his government which he had better have let alone; but it was his temper, and he could not help it. Besides, he had a prodigious

memory, and he forgot nothing, but knew everybody, as well in other countries as in his own. . . .

I am of opinion that if all the days of his life were computed in which his joys and pleasures outweighed his pain and trouble, they would be found so few, that there would be twenty mournful ones to one pleasant. He lived about sixty-one years, yet he always fancied he should never outlive sixty, giving this for a reason, that for a long time no king of France had lived beyond that age.

Apprehensions and precautions of the dying Louis.

His last illness continued from Monday to Saturday night. Upon which account I will now make comparison between the evils and sorrows which he brought upon others and those which he suffered in his own person: for I hope his torments here on earth have translated him into paradise and will be a great part of his purgatory. And if, in respect of their greatness and duration, his sufferings were inferior to those he had brought upon other people, yet, if you consider the grandeur and dignity of his office, and that he had never before suffered anything in his own person, but had been obeyed by all people, as if all Europe had been created for no other end but to serve and be commanded by him, you will find that that little which he endured was so contrary to his nature and custom that it was more grievous for him to bear. . . .

Louis XI's ideas of prison reform.

The king had ordered several cruel prisons to be made: some were cages of iron, and some of wood, but all were covered with iron plates both within and without, with terrible locks, about eight feet wide and seven high. The first contriver of them was the bishop of Verdun, who was immediately put in the first of them that was made, where he continued fourteen years. Many bitter curses he has had since for his invention, and some from me as I lay in one of them eight months together in the minority of our present king. He also ordered heavy and terrible fetters to be made in Germany, and particularly a certain ring for the feet, which was extremely hard to be opened, and fitted like an iron collar, with a thick weighty chain, and a great globe of iron at the end of it, most unreasonably heavy,

which contrivances were called the king's nets. However, I have seen many eminent and deserving persons in these prisons, with these nets about their legs, who afterwards came forth with great joy and honor, and received great rewards from the king.

This by way of digression. But to return to my principal design. As in his time this barbarous variety of prisons was invented, so before he died he himself was in greater torment and more terrible apprehension than those whom he had imprisoned; which I look upon as a great mercy toward him, and as part of his purgatory. And I have mentioned it here to show that there is no person, of what station or dignity soever, but suffers some time or other, either publicly or privately, especially if he has caused other people to suffer.

The king, toward the latter end of his days, caused his castle of Plessis-les-Tours to be encompassed with great bars of iron in the form of thick grating, and at the four corners of the house four sparrow nests of iron, strong, massy, and thick, were built. The grates were without the wall, on the farther side of the ditch, and sank to the bottom of it. Several spikes of iron were fastened into the wall, set as thick by one another as was possible, and each furnished with three or four points. He likewise placed ten bowmen in the ditches, to shoot at any man that durst approach the castle before the opening of the gates; and he ordered that they should lie in the ditches, but retire to the sparrow nests upon occasion.

He was sensible enough that this fortification was too weak to keep out an army or any great body of men, but he had no fear of such an attack; his great apprehension was that some of the nobility of his kingdom, having intelligence within, might attempt to make themselves masters of the castle by night and, having possessed themselves of it, partly by favor and partly by force, might deprive him of the regal authority, and take upon themselves the administration of public affairs, upon pretense that he was incapable of business and no longer fit to govern.

The gate of the castle was never opened, nor the drawbridge let down, before eight o'clock in the morning, at which time the officers were let in, and the captains ordered their guards to their several posts, with pickets of archers in the middle of the court, as in a town upon the frontiers that is closely guarded: nor was any person admitted to enter except by the wicket, and with the king's knowledge, unless it were the steward of his household and such persons as were not admitted into the royal presence.

Is it possible then to keep a prince (with any regard to his quality) in a closer prison than he kept himself? The cages which were made for other people were about eight feet square; and he (though so great a monarch) had but a small court of the castle to walk in, and seldom made use of that, but generally kept himself in the gallery, out of which he went into the chambers on his way to mass, but never passed through the court. Who can deny that he was a sufferer as well as his neighbors, considering how he was locked up and guarded, afraid of his own children and relations, and changing every day those very servants whom he had brought up and advanced; and though they owed all their preferment to him, yet he durst not trust any of them, but shut himself up in those strange chains and enclosures. If the place where he confined himself was larger than a common prison, he also was much greater than common prisoners.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE POPES AND THE COUNCILS

I. Question whether the Civil Government might tax the Vast Possessions of the Church

A struggle between the papacy and the temporal rulers over the proportion of the vast income of the Church which each should enjoy could hardly be avoided. When Philip the Fair of France and Edward I of England applied to the clergy for a part of the revenue necessary to meet the expenses of the state, Boniface VIII, who believed in claiming the most exalted prerogatives for the papacy,[1] met them with the following emphatic and unconditional denial of the right of the civil power to take any part of the ecclesiastical property or revenue. But two years later he consented to make certain exceptions, admitting the propriety of the *dons gratuits*, or free gifts, on the part of the clergy to the king, and even of exceptional exactions which, in cases of urgent necessity, might be collected by the king without waiting for the papal sanction.

205. The bull *Clericis Laicos* issued by Boniface VIII (1296) denying the right of the state to tax the clergy.

Bishop Boniface, servant of the servants of God, in perpetual record of this matter. Antiquity shows that the laity have always been exceeding hostile to the clergy; and this the experience of the present time clearly demonstrates, since, not content with their limitations, the laity strive for forbidden things and give free reign to the pursuit of illicit gain.

[1] See above, pp. 346 *sqq.*, for bull *Unam Sanctam*, which he issued in 1302.

They do not prudently observe that all control over the clergy, as well as over all ecclesiastical persons and their possessions, is denied them, but impose heavy burdens upon the prelates of the churches, upon the churches themselves, and upon ecclesiastical persons both regular and secular, exacting tallages and other contributions from them. From such persons they require and extort the payment of a half, a tenth, a twentieth, or some other quota of their property or income, and strive in many other ways to subject the churchmen to slavery and bring them under their control.

And (with grief do we declare it) certain prelates of the churches and ecclesiastical persons, fearing where they ought not to fear, and seeking a temporary peace, dreading to offend a temporal more than the eternal majesty, do, without having received the permission or sanction of the apostolic see, acquiesce in such abuses, not so much from recklessness as from want of foresight. We, therefore, desiring to check these iniquitous practices, by the counsel of our brothers, do, of our apostolic authority, decree that all prelates and ecclesiastical persons, whether monastic or secular, whatever their order, condition, or status, who shall pay, or promise or agree to pay, to laymen, any contributions or tallages, tenths, twentieths, or hundredths of their own or of their churches' revenues or possessions, or shall pay any sum, portion, or part of their revenues or goods, or of their estimated or actual value, in the form of an aid, loan, subvention, subsidy, or gift, or upon any other pretense or fiction whatsoever, without authority of this same apostolic see: — likewise emperors, kings and princes, dukes, counts, barons, podestà, captains, officers, rectors, whatever their title, of cities, castles, or other places, wherever situated, or any other persons, whatever their rank, condition, or status, who shall impose, exact, or receive such payments, or who shall presume to lay hands upon, seize, or occupy the possessions of churches or of ecclesiastical persons deposited in the sacred edifices, or who shall order such to be seized or occupied, or shall receive such things as shall be seized

or occupied, — likewise all who shall consciously lend aid, counsel, or support in such undertakings, either publicly or privately, — shall, by the very act, incur the sentence of excommunication; corporations, moreover, which shall show themselves guilty in these matters, we place under the interdict.

We strictly command all prelates and ecclesiastical persons above mentioned, in virtue of their obedience, and under penalty of deposition, that they shall not hereafter acquiesce in any such demands, without the express permission of the aforesaid chair. Nor shall they pay anything under pretext of any obligation, promise, or declaration made in the past, or which may be made before this notice, prohibition, or order shall be brought to their attention. Nor shall the above-mentioned laymen in any way receive any such payments. And if the former pay, or the latter receive anything, they shall incur, by the act itself, the sentence of excommunication. No one, moreover, shall be freed from the above-mentioned sentences of excommunication or of the interdict, except in the article of death, without the authority and special permission of the apostolic see, since it is our intention to make no kind of compromise with so horrible an abuse of the secular power; and this notwithstanding any privileges, whatever their tenor, form, or wording, conceded to emperors, kings, or other persons above mentioned, for we will that such concessions as are in conflict with the preceding prohibitions shall avail no individual person or persons. Let no man at all, therefore, violate the page of this our decree, prohibition, or order, or with rash assumption contravene it. Whoever shall presume to attempt this, let him know that he shall incur the indignation of omnipotent God and of the blessed Peter and Paul, his apostles.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the sixth day before the Kalends of March, in the second year of our pontificate.

II. Marsiglio of Padua and his "Defender of Peace"

The earliest uncompromising attack upon the temporal power of the pope and the clergy is that of Marsiglio of Padua. Marsiglio was born in 1270 at Padua and probably took the ordinary course of study in the university there. He then led a wandering life until he became rector of the University of Paris in 1312. The struggle which had begun between Louis of Bavaria, an aspirant for the imperial crown, and his opponent, Pope John XXII (1316–1334), aroused Marsiglio's interest in the great problem of the relations between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. In 1324 he planned out, with a co-worker, the *Defender of Peace* (*Defensor Pacis*), which has quite properly been called "the greatest and most original political treatise of the Middle Ages." In 1328 he accompanied Louis of Bavaria to Italy and became the papal vicar of an antipope whom the emperor had set up in place of his enemy, John XXII. Louis, however, utterly failed to establish himself in Italy. We know nothing about Marsiglio's later life. He probably died not long after 1336. His book is far more important than the little that we know of his career.

206. Brief summary of Marsiglio of Padua's *Defender of Peace.*

Only peace can furnish the necessary conditions for progress, for peace is the mother of all the higher arts. The evils of discord and strife have nearly all been described by Aristotle; but one great and important cause of trouble naturally escaped him, — a potent, hidden influence which interferes with the welfare not only of the empire but of all the governments of Europe. [Marsiglio cleverly refrains from revealing this modern cause of discord until he has described the proper nature and organization of the state.]

Popular sovereignty.

The power of making the laws should belong to the whole body of citizens, for there is no lawgiver among men superior to the people themselves. The argument that there are an infinite number of fools in the world may be met by pointing out that "foolish" is a relative term, and that the people know their own needs best and will not legislate against their own interests. Any particular class of people is, however, likely to be self-seeking, as is shown by the decrees of the popes and the clergy, where the self-interest of the lawmaker is only too apparent.

The actual administration must, nevertheless, be in the hands of a single person or group of persons.[1] Perhaps a king is the best head for the state, but the monarch should be elected and not hold his office hereditarily, and should be deposed if he exceed his powers.[2]

Unfounded claims made by the pope and clergy the chief obstacle to peace.

[At the end of Part I the time comes to take up the chief cause of trouble which has grown up since Aristotle's time, — namely, the papacy and the clergy.] The bishops of Rome have extended their jurisdiction not only over the clergy but, since the Donation of Constantine, over secular rulers as well. This is illustrated by the acts of the popes of the time (including the famous bull *Unam Sanctam*) and of the existing bishop of Rome, John XXII, who claims, both in Italy and Germany, to have supreme jurisdiction over the emperor and over the lesser princes and communities, even in purely temporal and feudal matters.

Churchmen = Christian believers.

In its original meaning the "church" meant all believers in Christ, — all those for whom he shed his blood. "Churchmen" (*viri ecclesiastici*) then include all the faithful, whether they be priests or not. The assumed supremacy of the bishop of Rome is without foundation. Even if Peter was ever in Rome, — which is doubtful, — there is no reason to suppose that he handed down any exceptional power to the succeeding bishops.

[1] All this is strikingly similar to the teachings of Rousseau in his *Social Contract*. See *History of Western Europe*, § 214.

[2] Rather singularly Marsiglio appears to have no enthusiasm for a universal monarchy or empire.

The third part of the *Defensor Pacis* contains a brief summary of the main arguments of the book. It is possible that this résumé was not prepared by Marsiglio himself, but it furnishes a clear analysis of the whole treatise. It opens as follows:

Marsiglio's own summary of his work.

In our preceding pages we have found that civil discord and dissension in the various kingdoms and communities is due, above all, to a cause which, unless it be obviated, will continue to be a source of future calamity, — namely, the claims, aspirations, and enterprises of the Roman bishop and of his band of ecclesiastics, bent upon gaining secular power and superfluous worldly possessions. The bishop of Rome is wont to support his claim to supreme authority over others by the assertion that the plenitude of power was delegated to him by Christ through the person of St. Peter, as we showed at the end of Part I, and in several chapters of Part II. But in reality no princely authority, nor any coercive jurisdiction in this world — to say nothing of *supreme* authority — belongs to him or to any other bishop, priest, or clerk, whether jointly or severally. This we have proved by sound human arguments in Part I, chapters xii, xiii, and xv. We have, in Part II, chapters vi and vii, further supported our conclusions by the testimony of eternal truth and by the discussions of the saints and learned men who have interpreted this truth.

Then in the sixth and seventh chapters we established from the Scriptures and by sound reasoning what was the character and extent of the legitimate authority of the priests and bishops. We demonstrated that the plenitude of power to which the clergy, especially the Roman bishop, lays claim belongs neither to the clergy as a whole nor to any of its members. In this way the foundations of the bishop of Rome's malign assumptions would seem to be completely undermined.

Now, in order that this plague which has scattered the seeds of discord and strife in kingdoms and communities,

nor has ceased to provoke dissension, may be the more speedily checked and prevented from further increase, we add a third and last part to the preceding two. This is nothing more than a collection of the clear and inevitable deductions from the statements and demonstrations given above. If these conclusions be duly attended to and acted upon this plague and its sophistical source will be easily abolished, now and hereafter, from the various kingdoms and other states.

Of Marsiglio's conclusions the most interesting are the following:

It is necessary to accept as true and essential to salvation *only* the holy and canonical Scriptures, together with their clear implications as interpreted by a general council of the faithful. This is assuredly true and may be assumed.

Doubtful points in the Christian belief are to be determined by a general council, — in no case by a single person, whoever he may be.

No one, according to the gospel, may be forced to observe the divine law by a temporal penalty or any punishment of this world.

The human lawgiver can only be the whole body of citizens or a majority of them.

No one may be compelled by temporal penalties to obey the decretals or ordinances of the bishops of Rome, or of any other bishop, unless the decrees are issued with the sanction of the human lawgiver [namely, the people].

No bishop or priest, as such, has any coercive authority or jurisdiction over any clerk or layman, even over a heretic.

No bishop or priest, or assembly of bishops or priests, may excommunicate any person, or interdict the performance of divine services, except with the authority of the lawgiver [namely, the people].

All bishops have equal authority immediately from Christ, nor, according to divine law, can it be shown that any one of them is superior to, or subordinate to, another, either in divine or temporal matters.

With the consent of the human legislator, other bishops may, together or separately, excommunicate the Roman bishop and exercise other forms of authority over him.

The determination of the number of churches and of priests, deacons, and other officials necessary to administer them, belongs to the rulers who shall conform to the laws of the faithful people.

The temporal possessions of the Church, except such as are necessary for the support of the priests and other ministers of the gospel and for the maintenance of divine services and the relief of the helpless poor, may properly, and according to divine law, be devoted, in whole or in part, by the human law, to public needs and the public defense.

Marsiglio's modern independence of thought and methods of criticism may be illustrated by the following passage, in which he questions a universally accepted belief of the Middle Ages.

Marsiglio's discussion of Peter's presence in Rome.

Since, then, it is evident from the Scriptures that Paul spent two years in Rome, there received all the gentiles who were converted, and preached there, it is clear that he was in a special sense bishop of Rome, since he fulfilled the duties of pastor there, having his authority immediately from Christ through revelation and, by the consent of the other apostles, through election.

As for St. Peter, on the other hand, I maintain that it cannot be proved by Holy Scripture that he was bishop of Rome, or, what is more, that he ever was in Rome. It is true that, according to a certain popular ecclesiastical legend of the saints, St. Peter reached Rome before St. Paul preached the word there, and was later arrested; moreover it is related that St. Paul, on his arrival at Rome, engaged with St. Peter in

many conflicts with Simon Magus, and at the same time stoutly withstood emperors and their ministers in the cause of the faith. Finally, according to the same story, both were decapitated at the same time for confessing Christ, and slept in the Lord, thus consecrating the Roman Church in Christ.

Improbability of the current tradition of Peter's episcopate.

It is most astonishing, however, that neither St. Luke, who wrote the Acts of the Apostles, nor St. Paul, makes any mention of St. Peter. Moreover the last chapter of Acts makes it very probable that St. Peter had not arrived in Rome before them. For when Paul addressed the Jews upon his arrival, in explaining the reason for his coming to Rome, he said, among other things, "But when the Jews spake against it [his liberation] I was constrained to appeal unto Cæsar." And they said unto him, "We neither received letters out of Jerusalem concerning thee, neither any of the brethren that came shewed or spake any harm of thee. But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest: for as concerning this sect [of the Christians] we know that every where it is spoken against."

I would that any one anxious for the truth, and not bent upon mere discussion, should tell me if it be probable that St. Peter had preceded Paul in Rome and yet had made no proclamation of Christ's faith, which the Jews, in speaking to Paul, call a "sect." Moreover would not Paul, in reproving them for their incredulity, have spoken of Peter had he been there preaching, and have called as a witness one who, according to the third chapter of Acts, beheld Christ's resurrection? Then, from what has been said, who could suppose that Paul could spend two years in Rome and still have no intercourse or communication with St. Peter? And if he had, why did the author of Acts make absolutely no mention of the fact? In other less important towns, when Paul came upon Peter he makes mention of him and associated with him, for example, in Corinth (1 Cor. iii), and in Antioch (Gal. ii), and so in other places. Why does he say nothing of Peter if he found him in Rome, the most celebrated of all cities, where, according to the story mentioned above, Peter was conspicuous as bishop?

Such a state of affairs is well-nigh incredible, so that the story or legend ought not to be regarded as probable in reference to the matter in hand, and should be reckoned as apocryphal. We must, however, following Holy Scripture, hold that St. Paul was bishop of Rome, and if any one else was there with him, Paul was nevertheless in charge, and in a special sense bishop of Rome, as is shown by the reasons adduced. Peter would seem to have been bishop of Antioch, as appears in the second chapter of Galatians. I do not deny that Peter was ever in Rome, but hold it as probable that he did not precede Paul, but rather the contrary.

Marsiglio claims that Paul was apparently the first bishop of Rome.

III. Wycliffe's Attack upon the Pope, Clergy, Monks, and the Roman Catholic Teachings

Wycliffe wrote many treatises, pamphlets, and sermons, in both Latin and English. In his sermons, which are generally very brief, he often refers to the evil life and what he regarded as the perverse teachings of the pope and clergy, especially of the mendicant friars, most of whom seemed to him to be the servants of Antichrist. The following extracts illustrate his spirit:[1]

207. Wycliffe on the evil state of the clergy.

[We should put on the armor of Christ, for Antichrist has turned] hise clerkes to coveitise and worldli love, and so blindid the peple and derkid the lawe of Crist, that hise servantis ben thikke, and fewe ben on Cristis side. And algatis [= always] thei dispisen that men shulden knowe Cristis liif, for bi his liif and his loore shulde help rise on his side, and prestis shulden shame of her lyves, and speciali thes highe prestis, for thei reversen Crist bothe in word and dede.

And herfore oo greet Bishop of Engelond, as men seien, is yvel paied [= pleased] that Goddis lawe is writun in

[1] It seemed a pity to modernize the ancient spelling; it, of course, somewhat impedes the inexperienced reader, but does not prevent his coming at the full sense of the passages.

The opposition of the Primate of England to the translating of the Scriptures into English.

Englis, to lewide men [= laymen]; and he pursueth a preest, for that he writith to men this Englishe, and somonith him and traveilith him, that it is hard to him to rowte. And thus he pursueth another preest by the helpe of Phariseis, for he prechide Cristis gospel freeli withouten fablis.

O men that ben on Cristis half, helpe ye now agens Anticrist! for the perilous tyme is comen that Crist and Poul telden bifore. Butt oo confort is of knygttis, that thei savoren myche the gospel and han wille to rede in Englishe the gospel of Cristis liif. For aftirward, if God wole, this lordship shal be taken from preestis; and so the staaff that makith hem hardi agens Crist and his lawe. For three sectis figten here, agens Cristene mennis secte. The firste is the pope and cardinals, bi fals lawe that thei han made; the secounde is emperours [and] bishopis, whiche dispisen Cristis lawe; the thridde is thes Pharisees possessioners and beggeris. Alle thes three, Goddis enemyes, traveilen in ypocrisie, and in worldli coveitise, and idilnesse in Goddis lawe. Crist helpe his Chirche from these fendis, for thei figten perilously.

Three chief enemies of Christ's law, namely, the pope and cardinals, bad bishops and rulers, and the mendicant friars.

In another sermon Wycliffe speaks of the pride and arrogance of the clergy.

The pride and arrogance of the clergy.

And Crist sitting, clepide [= called] thes twelve, and seide, "yif ony of you wole be the firste, he shal be the laste of alle and servant of alle, for he must be moost meke of alle other." And Crist take a child, and putte him in the middil of hem; the which child whanne Crist hadde biclippid, he seide thus to hem, "Who ever takith oon of thes children in my name resseyveth me, and whoever resseyveth me, resseyveth not me, but my fadir." And, for this lore is profitable to governaile of holy Chirche, therfore seith Crist, as he seith ofte, "He that hath eeris to heere, heere he."

The pope and prelates are given over to avarice.

And in this point synnen specialy gretteste of the Chirche, for thei suen not Crist heere but Anticrist and the world. Loke the pope first and his cardinalis, where thei taken no worldli worship, but ben the laste, moost servisable, and

moost meke of alle othir. More foul pride and coveitise is in no Lord of the world. Go we to bishopis binethe thes, and riche abbotis, fadirs in coventis, and thes axen worldly worshipis, and bi this mai men knowe hem. Yif thou wil wite which of thes is more, loke which takith more worldly worship.

Arrogance of the friars.

And yif thou go doun to freris, that ben beggeris, and shulden be mekerste, more worship of their bretheren takith no man in this world, as bi kneling and kissyng of feet; take thou the ministre of ffreris and other service at mete and bedde, more than ony bishop doith. And so Cristis reule in thes preestis is more reversid than in worldli lordis. And sith thei professen and seien this gospel bothe in word and in oth, it is open that thes false ypocritis disseyve the peple, and harmen the Chirche.

208. Wycliffe on auricular confession and transubstantiation.

But on this men douten ofte how that thes shriftes [= confession] camen in. For Goddis lawe spekith not but of schrift maad to God, and of general shrifte to men, and to stire hem to leve ther synne; and thes shriftes ben ofte betere for this than thes newe rownyngis. Here men seien, yif thei dursten, that noo shrifte that now is usid is good to man, but in as myche as it lettith man to synne. And so yif prestis prechiden faste as Crist hath ordeyned hem to preche, it semeth that this were ynow, with general confessioun. And so, al if it do good, netheles it doith myche harm, for confessores han her menes to spuyle the peple by symonye, and to foyle hem many weies by coveitise and lecherie.

Denial of transubstantiation.

Thes ben to rude heretikes, that seien thei eten Crist bodili, and seien thei parten ech membre of him, — nekke, bac, heed, and foot. And alle siche heresies springen, for thei witen not what this oost [= host] is. This oost is breed [= bread] in his kynde, as ben other oostes unsacrid, and sacramentaliche Goddis bodi; for Crist seith so, that mai not lye. And so, yif this sacrament be foulid in that it is breed or wyn, it may not thus be defoulid in thingis which it figurith. And so a man brekith not Goddis bodi, ne drynkith his blood with his mouth, alyif he ete and drynke the breed

and the wiin that is thes; for thei ben not thes in kynde. . . . And thus a mous etith not Cristis bodi alyif he ete this sacrament; for the mous failith goostli wiit, to chewe in him this bileve.

209. Statement of the views of Wycliffe's followers.

Shortly after Wycliffe's death his followers drew up a reply to the charges brought against the "pore Cristen men." The first charge is discussed as follows:

Furste, that this pope Urban tho sixte beres not strength of Seint Petur in erthe, but thai affermen hym to be tho son of Anticriste, and that no verrey pope was sith tho tyme of Silvester [I] pope.

Contrast between the life led by the pope and Christ's life.

Here Cristen men seyne pleynly, that whatever pope or other preste, in maner of lyvynge or techynge or lawis-makynge, contrarius Crist, is verrey Anticrist, adversary of Jesus Crist, and of his apostlis, ande of alle Cristen pepul. See inwardely, alle ye Cristen pepul, tho meke life of Jesus Crist, pore and symple to the worlde, and ful of brennynge charite, and puttynge hym selfe to penaunce and travayle in prechynge and prayinge, and willeful [= voluntary] schedynge of his precious blode, for to make pes and charite and for to save mennes soules. Ande sees ye tho open lyif of popes, how proude thai bene, that Cristen kyngus schal kysse ther fete, and with ther fote thai schal kroune tho emperoure, ther lorde and founder, ande that emperours, barfot, leden openly, as men sayne, ther bridelis, and that all men that schal with hem speke schul kisse ther fete, and calle hem moste holy faderis, and moste blessid and moste mercyful and gracius. And loke whether this be contrarie to Cristis mekenes, that weysche his disciplis feete, and coome not for to be served but to serve other men, and to gif hys lyife for redempcioun of mony. And he coome not to seche his owne glorie by manhed, but in alle thingus to do tho wille of his Fadir of heven.

Tho secunde tyme, See ye Cristen peple, tho willeful poverte of Jesus Crist, how he hade nougt by worldly lordschipe one howse where he mygt reste his heved, but lyved

by temporale almes of Mary Mawdeleyne ande other holy wymmen, as tho gospel sais. Ande see ye wisely, whether oure popis, makyng stronge palayces with pore mennes lyvelodis, with al ther glorie of richesses and jewelis, acordem with this porenes of Criste.

Tho thrid tyme, See, yee Cristen pepul, tho charitabul lyif of Crist, ande like whether oure popis contrarien hym. Where he was moste bisye in spirituale occupacione, these popis bene most bisy in delynge of beneficis to him that moste muck brynggen or worldly favour. Where Criste willefully gafe tribute to tho emperoure, these popis robben cristes rewenes by the furste frutes of mony thowsande poundis, by manyschynge of suspendyng and enterdytynge of londis.

Where Criste mekely travelid with grete penaunce upon his fete for to preche tho gospel, these popes, more then emperoures, resten in palaycis chargid with pretious in ther feete and in al ther stynkynge carione, ande prechen not tho gospel to Cristen men, but crien ever aftur glorye and riches, and make newe lawes for to magnify ther worldly state, that Crist and his apostlis durste never do.

Where Crist gafe his precious blode and lyif for to make pes and charite, these popis maken ande mayntenys werre thoroweout Cristendame, for to hold ther worldly state, moste contrarie ageyne Crist and his apostlis, ande herto spenden tho almes of kyngis, and oppressen Cristen rewenes by newe subsidies.

And, that is werst, thai senden indulgencis, foundid as thai faynen on Cristis charite and his dethe, to sle alle men contrarie to theire lustis. Certis this semes contrarious to Crist and his lovers. Seynt Robert Grosthede[1] sais that this court is cause, welle, and begynnynge of destruccione of Cristendame, and loser of al tho worlde. Ande trewly, if thai be thus contrary to Crist in lyvynge and techyng, as ther open dedis and tho world crien, thai ben cursid heretikis, manquellars bodily and gostly, Anticrist, and Sathanas

[1] Bishop of Lincoln (d. 1253), an ardent advocate of reform.

transfigurid into aungelis [of] ligt. Ande, as this worthi clerk Grosthede proves, ande certis no man is verrey pope but in als myche as he sewis Crist; and in so myche Cristen men wole do aftur hym, ande no more, for alle bulles and censuris, for no creature of God.

IV. The Sojourn of the Popes at Avignon. The Origin of the Great Schism

The residence of the popes at Avignon (1316–1377) did much to undermine their prestige. Avignon was so near France that the English and Germans suspected that the French king really directed the papal policy. Besides, the pope maintained a very luxurious court, and an ever-increasing burden of taxation was necessary to maintain the splendor which Petrarch, long a resident of the city, describes in the letter given below. Petrarch's criticism is especially noteworthy, for, in the first place, he had ample opportunity for forming his opinions from personal observation; in the second place, he was an ardent adherent of the papacy and a devout member of the Roman Catholic Church, — unlike Marsiglio and Wycliffe, who were openly heretical in their denial of some of the fundamental teachings of the mediæval Church. This letter is undated, but was written probably between 1340 and 1353, when he left the detested Avignon forever, and removed to Italy.

210. A letter of Petrarch's describing the papal court at Avignon.

. . . Now I am living in France, in the Babylon of the West. The sun in its travels sees nothing more hideous than this place on the shores of the wild Rhone, which suggests the hellish streams of Cocytus and Acheron. Here reign the successors of the poor fishermen of Galilee; they have strangely forgotten their origin. I am astounded, as

I recall their predecessors, to see these men loaded with gold and clad in purple, boasting of the spoils of princes and nations; to see luxurious palaces and heights crowned with fortifications, instead of a boat turned downwards for shelter.

We no longer find the simple nets which were once used to gain a frugal sustenance from the lake of Galilee, and with which, having labored all night and caught nothing, they took, at daybreak, a multitude of fishes, in the name of Jesus. One is stupefied nowadays to hear the lying tongues, and to see worthless parchments turned by a leaden seal into nets which are used, in Christ's name, but by the arts of Belial, to catch hordes of unwary Christians. These fish, too, are dressed and laid on the burning coals of anxiety before they fill the insatiable maw of their captors.

Instead of holy solitude we find a criminal host and crowds of the most infamous satellites; instead of soberness, licentious banquets; instead of pious pilgrimages, preternatural and foul sloth; instead of the bare feet of the apostles, the snowy coursers of brigands fly past us, the horses decked in gold and fed on gold, soon to be shod with gold, if the Lord does not check this slavish luxury. In short, we seem to be among the kings of the Persians or Parthians, before whom we must fall down and worship, and who cannot be approached except presents be offered. O ye unkempt and emaciated old men, is it for this you labored? Is it for this that you have sown the field of the Lord and watered it with your holy blood? But let us leave the subject.

Commiserate the cruel fate which holds your friend here. He may merit punishment, but certainly not one like this. Here I am, at a more advanced age, back in the haunts of my childhood, dragged again by fate among the disagreeable surroundings of my early days, when I thought I was freed from them. I have been so depressed and overcome that the heaviness of my soul has passed into bodily afflictions, so that I am really ill and can only give voice to sighs and groans. Although many things offer themselves which

I wanted to communicate to you, as both my stomachs[1] are troubling me you need look for nothing agreeable from me to-day. Sweet water cannot come from a bitter source. Nature has ordered that the sighs of an oppressed heart shall be distasteful, and the words of an injured soul harsh.

211. The beginning of schism in holy Church. (From Froissart's *Chronicles*.)

Froissart, in his famous *Chronicles*, gives the following account of Pope Gregory XI's return to Rome and of the opening of the Great Schism due to the election of Clement VII.

Ye have heard herebefore how Pope Gregory, the eleventh of that name, was in the city of Avignon. And when he saw that he could find no manner of peace to be had between the kings of England and France, wherewith he was in great displeasure, for he had greatly travailed thereabout and had made his cardinals to do the same, then he advised himself and had a devotion to go and revisit Rome and the see apostolic, the which St. Peter and St. Paul had edified. He had made promise before that, if ever he came to the degree to be pope, he would never keep his see but there where St. Peter kept his and ordained it.

How Gregory XI resolved to return from Avignon to Rome.

This pope was a man of feeble complexion and sickly, and endured much pain, more than any other. And he thus being in Avignon was sore let with the business of France, and so sore travailed with the king and his brethren that with much pain he had any leisure to take heed anything to himself or to his Church. Then he said to himself that he would go farther off from them to be more at rest, . . . and then he said to his cardinals, "Sirs, make you ready, for I will go to Rome."

Of that motion his cardinals were sore abashed and displeased, for they loved not the Romans, and so they would fain have turned his purpose, but they could not. And when the French king heard thereof he was sore displeased, for he thought that he had the pope nearer at hand there than

[1] Perhaps a pun on the Latin *stomachus*, which means ill humor as well as stomach.

at any other place. Then the king wrote incontinent to his brother, the duke of Anjou, who was at Toulouse, signifying him that after he had received his letter he should go to Avignon to the pope and break his voyage to Rome, if it were possible. The duke did as the king commanded him, and so came to Avignon, where the cardinals received him with great joy, and so he was lodged in the pope's palace, the ofter thereby to speak with the pope.

How the king of France sought to dissuade the pope.

Ye may know well that he spoke with the pope and showed him divers reasons to have broken his purpose; but the pope would in no wise consent thereto nor take any heed of any business on this side of the mountains. . . . When the duke saw that he could not come to his intent for no reason nor fair words that he could show, he took leave of the pope, and said at his parting, "Holy father, ye go into a country among such people where ye be but little beloved, and ye will leave the fountain of faith and the realm where holy Church hath most faith and excellence of all the world. And, sir, by your deed the Church may fall into great tribulation. For if ye die there, the which is right likely, and so say the physicians, then the Romans, who be malicious and traitors, shall be lords and masters of all the cardinals and shall make a pope at their own will."

Howbeit, for all these words and many others, the pope never rested till he was on his way. . . . The Romans were right joyful of his coming, and all the chief men of Rome mounted on their horses and so brought him into Rome with great triumph and lodged him in St. Peter's palace. And ofttimes he visited a church called Our Lady the Great [Santa Maria Maggiore] within Rome, wherein he had great pleasure and did make therein many costly works. And within a while after his coming to Rome he died and was buried in the said church, and there his obsequy was made, as to a pope appertained.[1]

[1] Here Froissart inserts a fabulous story of the election of a pope one nundred years of age, who straightway died, worn out by the celebration which the enthusiastic Romans prepared in his honor. His account of the election of Urban VI and Clement VII, given below, is,

Of the orgulous words that the Romans said at the election of a new pope.

[When the cardinals had entered the conclave] the Romans assembled themselves before the conclave and made semblance to break it up and slay them all if they did not choose a pope according to their minds, and cried to the cardinals and said, "Sirs, advise you well. If ye deliver us a Roman pope, we be content; else we will make your heads redder than your hats be." Such words and menaces greatly abashed the cardinals, for they would rather a died confessors than martyrs. Then to bring themselves out of that danger and peril they made a pope. But he was none of the college of cardinals: he was the archbishop of Bari, a great clerk, who greatly had travailed for the wealth of holy Church.

With this promotion to the papality the Romans were appeased, for the cardinal of Genoa put out his head at a window of the conclave and said on high to the people of Rome, "Sirs, appease you, for you have a Roman pope, and that is Bartholomew des Aigles, archbishop of Bari." The people answered all with one voice, "Then we be content." The same archbishop was not then at Rome; I think he was in Naples. Then he was incontinent sent for, of the which tidings he was right glad; and so came to Rome. And at his coming there was a great feast made to him, and so he had all the rights that pertained to the papality and was called Urban, the sixth of that name.

The Romans had great joy. His creation was signified to all the churches of Christendom, and also to emperors, kings, dukes, and earls, and the cardinals sent word to all their friends that he was chosen by a good and true election. Howbeit some of them repented them after that they had spoken so largely of the matter.[1] . . .

however, essentially correct, except that, with a view to justifying the desertion of Urban by the cardinals, he exaggerates the disorder which attended his election and which formed the only possible excuse for a new election.

[1] There appears to be no doubt that Urban was admitted by all at the time to have been regularly elected, and that the plea that the cardinals had been intimidated by the Roman populace was trumped up later, when Urban had made himself hated by his rudeness and austerity.

The cardinals desert Urban and choose a new pope, Clement VII.

The intention of divers of the cardinals was that when they might see a better hour and time they would return again to their election, because this pope was not profitable for them, nor also for the Church, for he was a fumish man and melancholious, so that when he saw himself in prosperity and in puissance of the papality, and that divers Christian kings were joined to him and wrote to him and did put them under his obedience, he waxed proud and headstrong, and would have taken from the cardinals divers of their rights and old customs, the which greatly displeased them. And so they spake together and imagined how he was not well worthy to govern the world; wherefore they purposed to choose another pope, sage and discreet, by whom the Church should be well governed. . . .

[Accordingly when they left Rome for the summer] all of one accord assembled together and their voices rested on Sir Robert of Geneva, son to the earl of Geneva. He was first bishop of Therouanne and later of Cambrai, and was called cardinal of Geneva. At his election were most of the cardinals, and he was called Clement [VII]. . . .

Decisive action of the French king in declaring for Clement.

And when the French king who as then reigned was certified thereof, he had great marvel, and sent for his brother and for all the nobles and prelates of his realm and for the rector and master doctors of the university of Paris, to know of them which election, whether the first or the second, he should hold unto. This matter was not shortly determined, for divers clerks varied, but finally all the prelates of France inclined to Clement, and so did the king's brethren and the most part of the university of Paris; and so the king was informed by all the great clerks of his realm; and so he obeyed the pope Clement and held him for the true pope, and made a special commandment throughout his realm that every man should take and repute Clement for pope and that every man should obey him as God on earth. The king of Spain was of the same opinion and so was the earl of Savoy, the duke of Milan, and the queen of Naples.

The believing thus of the French king upon Clement greatly strengthened his cause, for the realm of France was

reputed to be the chief fountain of belief of the Christian faith, because of the noble churches and prelacies that be therein. . . . The Christian realms were in variation and the churches in great difference because of the popes. Urban had the greater part, but to speak of the most profitable revenues and plain obedience, Clement had it. And so Clement, by consent of the cardinals, sent to Avignon to make ready the palace there for him, for his intent was to go thither as soon as he might.

The disorders of the Great Schism offered little opportunity for improvement in the Church, so that during the generation preceding the opening of the Council of Constance the complaints are as loud as ever that the popes, whether those at Rome or their rivals at Avignon, are hopelessly corrupt. In a work on *The Downfall of the Church,* a cleric connected with the court of the popes at Avignon writes as follows:

212. Nicholas Clamanges on the three vices which have corrupted the Church.

After the great increase of worldly goods, the virtues of our ancestors being quite neglected, boundless avarice and blind ambition invaded the hearts of the churchmen. As a result they were carried away by the glory of their position and the extent of their power, and soon gave way to the degrading effects of luxury. Three most exacting and troublesome masters had now to be satisfied. *Luxury* demands sundry gratifications, — wine, sleep, banquets, music, debasing sports, courtesans, and the like. *Display* requires fine houses, castles, towers, palaces, rich and varied furniture, expensive clothes, horses, servants, and the pomp of luxury. Lastly is *Avarice*, which carefully brings together vast treasures to supply the demands of the above-mentioned vices or, if these are otherwise provided for, to gratify the eye by the vain contemplation of the coins themselves.

So insatiable are these lords, and so imperious are their demands, that the Golden Age of Saturn, which we hear of in stories, should it now return, would hardly suffice to meet

the requirements. Since it is impossible, however rich the bishop and ample his revenue, to satisfy these rapacious harpies with that alone, he must cast about for other sources of income.

Papal collectors and the ills they bring with them.

For carrying on these exactions and gathering the gains into the camera, or Charybdis, as we may better call it, the popes appoint their *collectors* in every province, — those, namely, whom they know to be most skillful in extracting money, owing to peculiar energy, diligence, or harshness of temper, those, in short, who will neither spare nor except but would squeeze gold from a stone. To these the popes grant, moreover, the power of anathematizing any one, even prelates, and of expelling from the communion of the faithful every one who does not, within a fixed period, satisfy their demands for money. What ills these collectors have caused, and the extent to which poor churches and people have been oppressed, are questions best omitted, as we could never hope to do the matter justice. From this source come the laments of the unhappy ministers of the Church, which reach our ears, as they faint under the insupportable yoke, — yea, perish of hunger. Hence come suspensions from divine service, interdicts from entering a church, and anathemas, a thousandfold intensified in severity.

Such things were resorted to in the rarest instances by the fathers, and then only for the most horrible of crimes; for by these penalties a man is separated from the companionship of the faithful and turned over to Satan. But nowadays these inflictions are so fallen in esteem that they are used for the lightest offense, often for no offense at all, so that they no longer bring terror but are objects of contempt.

To the same cause is to be ascribed the ruin of numerous churches and monasteries and the leveling to the ground, in so many places, of sacred edifices, while the money which was formerly used for their restoration is exhausted in paying these taxes. But it even happens, as some well know, that holy relics in not a few churches — crosses, chalices, feretories, and other precious articles — go to make up this tribute.

Who does not know how many abbots and other prelates, when they come to die, are, if they prove obnoxious to the papal camera on account of their poverty, refused a dignified funeral, and even denied burial, except perchance in some field or garden, or other profane spot, where they are secretly disposed of. Priests, as we all can see, are forced, by reason of their scanty means of support, to desert their parishes and their benefices and, in their hunger, seek bread where they may, performing profane services for laymen. Some rich and hitherto prosperous churches have, indeed, been able to support this burden, but all are now exhausted and can no longer bear to be cheated of their revenue.

A German writer of the early fifteenth century in his *History of the Council of Constance* shows the inevitable manner in which the corruption spread from the prelates downward to the simple priests, who were tempted to indemnify themselves for the outlay they had been obliged to make in obtaining their offices.

213. How corruption spread from the prelates to the lower clergy. (From *Dietrich Vrie.*)

The supreme pontiffs, as I know, are elected through avarice and simony, and likewise the other bishops are ordained for gold. These in turn will not ordain those below them — the priests, deacons, subdeacons, and acolytes — except a strict agreement be first drawn up. Of the mammon of unrighteousness the bishops, the real rulers, and the chapters each receives a part.

The once accepted maxim, "Freely give, for freely ye have received," is now most vilely perverted: "Freely I have not received, nor will I freely give, for I bought my bishopric for a great price and must indemnify myself impiously for my untoward outlay. I will not ordain you as a priest except for money. I purchased the sacrament of ordination when I became a bishop, and I propose to sell you the same sign and seal of ordination. By beseeching and for gold I obtained my office, and for beseeching and for gold do I sell you your place. Refuse the amount I demand and you shall not become a priest."

V. The Council of Constance

The two most interesting acts, historically, passed by the Council of Constance were the decree *Sacrosancta*, in which it declared that as a general council of Christendom it had the right to reform even the papacy ; and, secondly, the decree *Frequens*, which provided that general councils should thereafter be assembled regularly and so form a sort of parliament which, with the pope, should govern the Church.

In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

214. The decree *Sacrosancta* passed by the Council of Constance (April 6, 1415).

This holy synod of Constance, constituting a general council for the extirpation of the present schism and the union and reformation of the Church of God in head and members, legitimately assembled in the Holy Ghost, to the praise of omnipotent God, in order that it may the more easily, safely, effectively, and freely bring about the union and reformation of the Church of God, hereby determines, decrees, ordains, and declares what follows:

It first declares that this same council, legitimately assembled in the Holy Ghost, forming a general council and representing the Catholic Church militant, has its power immediately from Christ, and every one, whatever his position or rank, even if it be the papal dignity itself, is bound to obey it in all those things which pertain to the faith, to the healing of the schism, and to the general reformation of the Church of God in head and members.

It further declares that any one, whatever his position, station, or rank, even if it be the papal, who shall contumaciously refuse to obey the mandates, decrees, ordinances, or instructions which have been, or shall be, issued by this holy council, or by any other general council legitimately summoned, which concern, or in any way relate to, the abovementioned objects, shall, unless he repudiate his conduct, be

subjected to condign penance and be suitably punished, having recourse, if necessary, to the resources of the law. . . .[1]

215. The decree *Frequens* passed by the Council of Constance (October, 1417).

A frequent celebration of general councils is an especial means for cultivating the field of the Lord and effecting the destruction of briers, thorns, and thistles, to wit, heresies, errors, and schism, and of bringing forth a most abundant harvest. The neglect to summon these fosters and develops all these evils, as may be plainly seen from a recollection of the past and a consideration of existing conditions. Therefore, by a perpetual edict, we sanction, decree, establish, and ordain that general councils shall be celebrated in the following manner, so that the next one shall follow the close of this present council at the end of five years. The second shall follow the close of that, at the end of seven years, and councils shall thereafter be celebrated every ten years in such places as the pope shall be required to designate and assign, with the consent and approbation of the council, one month before the close of the council in question, or which, in his absence, the council itself shall designate. Thus, with a certain continuity, a council will always be either in session, or be expected at the expiration of a definite time.

This term may, however, be shortened on account of emergencies, by the supreme pontiff, with the counsel of his brethren, the cardinals of the holy Roman Church, but it may not be hereafter lengthened. The place, moreover, designated for the future council may not be altered without evident necessity. If, however, some complication shall arise, in view of which such a change shall seem necessary, as, for example, a state of siege, a war, a pest, or other obstacles, it shall be permissible for the supreme pontiff, with the consent and subscription of his said brethren, or two thirds of them, to select another appropriate place near the first, which must be within the same country, unless such

[1] The rest of the decree relates specifically to John XXIII, who had fled from Constance. The council claims that John enjoyed full liberty at Constance, and orders that he shall not induce the cardinals and members of his curia to desert the council and follow him.

obstacles, or similar ones, shall exist throughout the whole nation. In that case, the council may be summoned to some appropriate neighboring place, within the bounds of another nation. To this the prelates, and others, who are wont to be summoned to a council, must betake themselves as if that place had been designated from the first. Such change of place, or shortening of the period, the supreme pontiff is required legitimately and solemnly to publish and announce one year before the expiration of the term fixed, that the said persons may be able to come together, for the celebration of the council, within the term specified. . . .[1]

The council found itself unable to remedy the abuses unaided, so it drew up the following list of evils which the new pope was to be required to abolish, in coöperation with the deputies chosen by the council. This list indicates what were considered the worst defects of the existing system.

216. List of abuses drawn up by the Council of Constance just before its close (October, 1417).

The holy council of Constance decrees and ordains that the supreme pontiff who shall next, by the grace of God, assume office, shall, in conjunction with this holy council, or with the deputies of the several "nations,"[2] reform the Church, before the council dissolves, in head and members, as well as the Roman curia, in accordance with justice and the proper organization of the Church, in all the respects enumerated below, and which are submitted by the "nations" as requiring reform:

The number, character, and nationality of the lords cardinals.

The reservations [of benefices] made by the apostolic see.

[1] The succeeding paragraphs relate to various means for avoiding future schism, and provide an oath to be taken by the pope on his election.

[2] The council had organized itself, like the universities of the times, according to nations, which served the purpose of committees.

The annates, both the *servitia communia* and the *servitia minuta*.[1]

The collation to benefices and expectative favors.[2]

What cases are to be brought before the Roman curia and what not.

Appeals to the Roman curia.

The functions of the [papal] chancery and penitentiary.

Exemptions and incorporations made during the schism.

Benefices *in commendam*.

Confirmation of elections.

Income during vacancies.

The non-alienation of the possessions of the Roman church or other churches.

For what reasons and in what manner a pope shall be corrected or deposed.

The extirpation of heresy.

Dispensations.

The means of support of pope and cardinals.

Indulgences.

Tenths.

When the above-mentioned deputies shall have been appointed by the "nations," it shall be free to the others, with the permission of the pope, to return home.

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[1] The annates, or payment to the pope of a half, more or less, of the first year's revenue from benefices to which he appointed, was divided in such a way that the pope and cardinals received the so-called *servitia communia*, while the balance, the so-called *servitia minuta*, fell to the lower officials of the papal chancery.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE ITALIAN CITIES AND THE RENAISSANCE

I. The Italian Despots

217. Machiavelli's advice to despots. (From *The Prince.*)

No one better understood the Italian despot and the peculiarities of his position than did Machiavelli. The following passages are from *The Prince*, his little handbook for despots.

Unreliable character of the *condottiere* and their mercenary troops.

That prince who founds the duration of his government upon his mercenary forces will never be firm or secure; for they are divided, ambitious, undisciplined, unfaithful; insolent to their friends, abject to their enemies, without fear of God or faith to men; so the ruin of that person who trusts to them is no longer protracted than the attempt is deferred. In time of peace they plunder you, in time of war they desert you; and the reason is because it is not love nor any principle of honor that keeps them in the field, but only their pay, and that is not a consideration strong enough to prevail with them to die for you. Whilst you have no service to employ them in, they are excellent soldiers; but tell them of an engagement and they will either disband before, or run away during the battle. . . .

The great officers of these mercenaries [i.e. the *condottiere*] are either men of great courage, or otherwise; if the first, you can never be safe, for they always aspire to make themselves great, either by supplanting you who are their master, or by oppressing other people whom you desire to have protected. On the other hand, if the commanders be not courageous, you are still ruined. If it should be urged that all generals will do the same, whether mercenaries or others, I would answer, that all war is managed either by a prince or a

republic. The prince ought to go in person, and perform the office of general himself; the republic should depute some one of her choice citizens, who may be changed if he carries himself ill; if he behaves himself well he may be continued, but so straitened and circumscribed by his commission that he may not transgress. . . .

Of the danger of mercenary forces we have an ancient example in the Carthaginians, who, after the end of their first war with the Romans, had like to have been ruined and overrun by their own mercenaries, though their own citizens commanded them. [In modern times] upon the death of Duke Filippo,[1] the Milanese employed Francesco Sforza against the Venetians, and Francesco, having worsted the enemy at Caravaggio, joined himself with them, with design to have mastered his masters. Francesco's father was formerly in the service of Joan, queen of Naples, and on a sudden marched away from her with his army and left her utterly destitute, so that she was constrained to throw herself under the protection of the king of Aragon.

Example of Sforza making himself master of Milan.

Though both the Venetians and Florentines have lately enlarged their dominion by employing these forces, and their generals have rather advanced than enslaved them, I answer that the Florentines may impute it to their good fortune, because, of such of their generals as they might rationally have feared, some had no victories to encourage them, others were obstructed, and others turned their ambition another way.

On such things as render princes worthy of blame or applause.

It now remains for us to see in what manner a prince ought to comport himself with his subjects and friends; and because many have written of this subject before, it may perhaps seem arrogant in me to do so, especially considering that in my discourse I shall deviate from the opinion of other men. But my intention being to write for the benefit and advantage of him who understands, I thought it more convenient to respect the essential verity than the imagination of the thing (and many have framed imaginary commonwealths and governments to themselves which never were

[1] The last of the Visconti.

seen nor had any real existence), since the present manner of living is so different from the way that ought to be taken, that he who neglects what *is* done to follow what *ought to be* done will sooner learn how to ruin than how to preserve himself; for a tender man, and one that desires to be honest in everything, must needs run a great hazard among so many of a contrary principle. Wherefore it is necessary for a prince who wishes to subsist, to harden himself, and learn to be good or otherwise according to the exigence of his affairs.

Laying aside, therefore, all imaginary notions of a prince, and discoursing of nothing but what is actually true, I say that all men when they are spoken of, and especially princes, who are in a higher and more eminent station, are remarkable for some quality or other that makes them either honorable or contemptible. Hence it is that some are counted liberal, others miserable; . . . some munificent, others rapacious; some cruel, others merciful; some faithless, others precise; one poor-spirited and effeminate, another fierce and ambitious; one courteous, another haughty; one modest, another impure; one sincere, another cunning; one rugged and morose, another accessible and easy; one grave, another giddy; one devout, another an atheist.

No man, I am sure, will deny but that it would be an admirable thing and highly to be commended to have a prince endowed with all the good qualities aforesaid; but because it is impossible to have, much less to exercise, them all by reason of the frailty and grossness of our nature, it is convenient that he be so well instructed as to know how to avoid the scandal of those vices which may deprive him of his state, and be very cautious of the rest, though their consequence be not so pernicious, so that where they are unavoidable he need trouble himself the less.

He is not to concern himself if he incur the infamy of those vices without which his dominion cannot be preserved; for if we consider things impartially, we shall find some things are virtuous in appearance, and yet, if pursued, would bring certain destruction, while others are seemingly bad, which, if followed by a prince, procure his peace and security.

Whether it is best for a prince to be beloved or feared.

To come now to the other qualities proposed, I say that every prince should desire to be esteemed merciful rather than cruel, but with great caution that his mercy be not abused. Cæsar Borgia was counted cruel, yet that cruelty reduced Romagna, united it, settled it in peace, and rendered it faithful; so that if well considered he will appear much more merciful than the Florentines, who, rather than be thought cruel, suffered Pistoja to be destroyed. A prince, therefore, is not to regard the scandal of being cruel, if thereby he keeps his subjects in their allegiance and united, seeing that by some few examples of justice you may be more merciful than they who, by an universal exercise of pity, permit several disorders to follow, which occasion rapine and murder; and the reason is, because that exorbitant mercy has an ill effect upon the whole body of the people, whereas particular executions extend only to particular persons.

But among all princes a new prince has the hardest task to avoid the scandal of being cruel, by reason of the newness of his government, and the dangers which attend it. . . . Nevertheless, he is not to be too credulous of reports, too hasty in his motions, nor create fears and jealousies of himself, but so to temper his administration with prudence and humanity that neither too much confidence may make him careless, nor too much diffidence intolerable.

And from hence arises a new question, Whether it be better to be beloved than feared, or feared than beloved? It is answered, both would be convenient, but because that is hard to attain, it is better and more secure, if one must be wanting, to be feared rather than beloved; for, in general, men are ungrateful, inconstant, hypocritical, fearful of danger, and covetous of gain. Whilst they receive any benefit by you, and the danger is at a distance, they are absolutely yours; their blood, their estates, their lives, and their children, as I said before, are all at your service. But when mischief is at hand, and you have present need of their help, they make no scruple to revolt; and that prince who leaves himself naked of other preparations, and relies wholly upon their professions, is sure to be ruined; for amity contracted

by price, and not by the greatness and generosity of the mind, may seem a good pennyworth, yet when you have occasion to make use of it, you will find it of no account.

Moreover, men do with less remorse offend against those who desire to be beloved than against those who are ambitious of being feared, and the reason is because love is fastened only by a ligament of obligation, which the ill-nature of mankind breaks upon every occasion that is presented to his profit; but fear depends upon an apprehension of punishment, which is never to be dispelled.

Yet a prince is to inspire fear in such sort that, if he gains not his subjects' love, he may eschew their hatred; for to be feared and not hated are compatible enough, and he may be always in that condition if he offers no violence to their estates, nor attempts anything upon the honor of their wives, and also, when he has occasion to take away any man's life, if he takes his time when the cause is manifest, and he has good matter for his justification. But above all things he is to have a care of intrenching upon their estates, for men do sooner forget the death of their father than the loss of their patrimony; besides, occasions of confiscation never fail, and he that once gives way to that humor of rapine shall never want temptation to ruin his neighbor. But, on the contrary, provocations to bloodshed are more rare, and do sooner evaporate; but when a prince is at the head of his army, and has a multitude of soldiers to govern, then it is absolutely necessary not to value the epithet of cruel, for without that no army can be kept in unity, nor in the disposition for any great act.

II. Humanism

218. Dante and the great writers of Greece and Rome. (From the *Divine Comedy*.)

Dante was not a humanist in the later sense of the term, but he clearly appreciated the distinction and worth of the ancient writers. The following passage from the *Divine Comedy* is his poetic conception of the fate of the famous pagans who lived worthily. He is

passing through limbo, the uppermost region of hell, with Virgil for his guide. As they proceed he sees a fire that conquered a hemisphere of darkness.[1]

We were still a little distant from it, yet not so far that I could not partially discern that honorable folk possessed that place. "O thou that honorest both science and art, these, who are they, that have such honor that from the condition of the others it sets them apart?" And he to me, "The honorable fame of them which resounds above in thy life wins grace in heaven that so advances them." At this a voice was heard by me, "Honor the loftiest Poet! his shade returns that was departed." When the voice had ceased and was quiet, I saw four great shades coming to us: they had a semblance neither sad nor glad. The good Master [Virgil] began to say, "Look at him with that sword in hand who cometh before the three, even as lord. He is Homer, the sovereign poet; the next who comes is Horace, the satirist; Ovid is the third, and the last is Lucan. Since each shares with me the name that the solitary voice sounded, they do me honor, and in that do well."

Thus I saw assembled the fair school of that Lord of the loftiest song which above the others as an eagle flies. After they had discoursed somewhat together, they turned to me with sign of salutation; and my Master smiled thereat. And far more of honor yet they did me, for they made me of their band, so that I was the sixth amid so much wit. Thus we went on as far as the light, speaking things concerning which silence is becoming, even as was speech there where I was.

We came to the foot of a noble castle, seven times circled by high walls, defended roundabout by a fair streamlet. This we passed as if hard ground; through seven gates I entered with these sages; we came to a meadow of fresh verdure. People were there with eyes slow and grave, of great authority in their looks; they spake seldom and with

[1] I follow Professor Norton's prose version here.

soft voices. Thus we drew apart, on one side, into a place open, luminous, and high, so that they all could be seen. There opposite upon the green enamel were shown to me the great spirits, whom to have seen I inwardly exalt myself.

I saw Electra with many companions, among whom I knew Hector and Æneas, Cæsar in armor, with his ger-falcon eyes; I saw Camilla and Penthesilea on the other side, and I saw the King Latinus, who was seated with Lavinia, his daughter. I saw that Brutus who drove out Tarquin; Lucretia, Julia, Marcia, and Cornelia; and alone, apart, I saw the Saladin. When I raised my brow a little more, I saw the Master of those who know, seated amid the philosophic family; all regard him, all do him honor. Here I saw both Socrates and Plato, who before the others stand nearest to him; Democritus, who ascribes the world to chance; Diogenes, Anaxagoras, and Thales, Empedocles, Heraclitus, and Zeno; and I saw the good collector of the qualities, Dioscorides, I mean; and I saw Orpheus, Tully, and Linus, and moral Seneca, Euclid the geometer, and Ptolemy, Hippocrates, Avicenna, Galen, and Averroës, who made the great comment. I cannot report of all in full, because the long theme so drives me that many times speech comes short of fact.

219. Dante's defense of Italian. (From the *Convito*.)

Dante, however, was a sturdy defender of Italian against those who despised their mother tongue and gave preference to other languages. In explaining why he employed Italian in writing his *Banquet* (*Convito*) he bursts forth:

To the perpetual shame and abasement of the evil men of Italy who commend the mother tongue of other nations and depreciate their own, I say that their action proceeds from five abominable causes: the first is blindness of discretion; the second, mischievous self-justification; the third, greed of vainglory; the fourth, an invention of envy; the fifth and last, littleness of soul, that is, cowardice. And

each one of these grave faults has a great following, for few are those who are free from them. . . .

There are many who would rather be thought masters than be such; and to avoid the opposite — that is, to be held not to be such — they always cast blame on the material they work on, or upon the instrument; as the clumsy smith blames the iron given to him, and the bad harpist blames the harp, thinking to cast the blame of the bad blade and of the bad music upon the iron and upon the harp, and to lift it from themselves. Thus there are some, — and not a few, — who desire that men may hold them to be orators; and to excuse themselves for not speaking, or for speaking badly, they accuse or throw blame on the material, that is, their own mother tongue, and praise that of other lands, which they are not required to employ. And he who wishes to see wherefore this iron is to be blamed, let him look at the work which good artificers make of it, and he will understand the malice of those who, in casting blame upon it, think thereby to excuse themselves. Against such as these Cicero exclaims in the beginning of his book, which he names *De Finibus*, because in his time they blamed the Roman Latin and praised the Greek grammar. And thus I say, for like reasons, that these men vilify the Italian tongue, and glorify that of Provence. . . .

There are many who, by describing certain things in some other language, and by praising that language, deem themselves to be more worthy of admiration than if they described them in their own. And undoubtedly to learn well a foreign tongue is deserving of some praise for intellect; but it is a blamable thing to applaud that language beyond truth, to glorify oneself for such an acquisition. . . . Wherefore many, on account of this baseness of soul, depreciate their native tongue, and applaud that of others; and such as these are the abominable wicked men of Italy who hold this precious mother tongue in vile contempt, which if it be vile in any case is so only inasmuch as it sounds in the evil mouth of these adulterers, under whose guidance go those blind men of whom I spoke in the first argument.

220. Dante's sad life. (From the *Convito.*)

Dante excuses himself for a certain obscurity which he has introduced into his *Banquet*, with the hope of giving it some dignity in the eyes of the many Italians who had seen him during his wanderings, and perhaps had formed a low estimate of him.

Alas! would that it might have pleased the Dispenser of the Universe that the cause of my excuse might never have been, that others might neither have sinned against me, nor I have suffered punishment unjustly; the punishment, I say, of exile and poverty! Since it was the pleasure of the citizens of the most beautiful and the most famous daughter of Rome, Florence, to cast me out from her most sweet bosom (wherein I was born and nourished even to the height of my life, and in which, with her good will, I desire with all my heart to repose my weary soul, and to end the time which is given to me), I have gone through almost all the land in which this language lives — a pilgrim, almost a mendicant — showing forth against my will the wound of Fortune, with which the ruined man is often unjustly reproached.

Truly I have been a ship without a sail and without a rudder, borne to divers ports and lands and shores by the dry wind which blows from grievous poverty; and I have appeared vile in the eyes of many, who perhaps through some report may have imaged me in other form. In the sight of whom not only my person became vile, but my work was held to be of less value, both that already done and that which remained still to do.

221. Petrarch's description of himself. (From his *Letter to Posterity*)

Petrarch well knew how to describe himself and his aspirations. He writes thus to posterity:

Greeting. — It is possible that some word of me may have come to you, though even this is doubtful, since an insignificant and obscure name will scarcely penetrate far in either time or space. If, however, you should have heard of me, you may desire to know what manner of man

I was, or what was the outcome of my labors, especially those of which some description or, at any rate, the bare titles may have reached you.

To begin with myself, then: the utterances of men concerning me will differ widely, since in passing judgment almost every one is influenced not so much by truth as by preference, and good and evil report alike know no bounds. I was, in truth, a poor mortal like yourself, neither very exalted in my origin, nor, on the other hand, of the most humble birth, but belonging, as Augustus Cæsar says of himself, to an ancient family. As to my disposition, I was not naturally perverse or wanting in modesty, however the contagion of evil associations may have corrupted me.

My youth was gone before I realized it; I was carried away by the strength of manhood; but a riper age brought me to my senses and taught me by experience the truth I had long before read in books, that youth and pleasure are vanity, — nay, that the Author of all ages and times permits us miserable mortals, puffed up with emptiness, thus to wander about, until finally, coming to a tardy consciousness of our sins, we shall learn to know ourselves.

In my prime I was blessed with a quick and active body, although not exceptionally strong; and while I do not lay claim to remarkable personal beauty, I was comely enough in my best days. I was possessed of a clear complexion, between light and dark, lively eyes, and for long years a keen vision, which however deserted me, contrary to my hopes, after I reached my sixtieth birthday, and forced me, to my great annoyance, to resort to glasses. Although I had previously enjoyed perfect health, old age brought with it the usual array of discomforts.

My parents were honorable folk, Florentine in their origin, of medium fortune, or, I may as well admit it, in a condition verging upon poverty. They had been expelled from their native city, and consequently I was born in exile, at Arezzo, in the year 1304 of this latter age, which begins with Christ's birth, July the 20th, on a Monday, at dawn. . . . In my familiar associations with kings and princes, and in my

friendship with noble personages, my good fortune has been such as to excite envy. But it is the cruel fate of those who are growing old that they can commonly only weep for friends who have passed away. The greatest kings of this age have loved and courted me. They may know why; I certainly do not. With some of them I was on such terms that they seemed in a certain sense my guests rather than I theirs; their lofty position in no way embarrassing me, but, on the contrary, bringing with it many advantages. I fled, however, from many of those to whom I was greatly attached; and such was my innate longing for liberty, that I studiously avoided those whose very name seemed incompatible with the freedom that I loved.

I possessed a well-balanced rather than a keen intellect, — one prone to all kinds of good and wholesome study, but especially inclined to moral philosophy and the art of poetry. The latter, indeed, I neglected as time went on, and took delight in sacred literature. Finding in that a hidden sweetness which I had once esteemed but lightly, I came to regard the works of the poets as only amenities.

Among the many subjects which interested me, I dwelt especially upon antiquity, for our own age has always repelled me, so that, had it not been for the love of those dear to me, I should have preferred to have been born in any other period than our own. In order to forget my own time, I have constantly striven to place myself in spirit in other ages, and consequently I delighted in history. The conflicting statements troubled me, but when in doubt I accepted what appeared most probable, or yielded to the authority of the writer.

222. Petrarch's reputation as a literary critic. (From a letter of his.)

In one of the most sprightly of his letters, Petrarch confesses that he is afflicted with a mania for writing, a disease which, perhaps through his example, has spread so widely that every one is writing verses and talking of the muses.

It is after all but a poor consolation to have companions in misery. I should prefer to be ill by myself. Now I am

involved in other's ill fortune as well as in my own, and am hardly given time to take breath. For every day letters and poems from every corner of our land come showering down upon my devoted head. Nor does this satisfy my foreign friends. I am overwhelmed by floods of missives, no longer from France alone, but from Greece, from Germany, from England. I am unable to judge even my own work, and yet I am called upon to be the universal critic of others.

Were I to answer the requests in detail, I should be the busiest of mortals. If I condemn the composition, I am a jealous carper at the good work of others; if I say a good word for the thing, it is attributed to a mendacious desire to be agreeable; if I keep silence altogether, it is because I am a rude, pert fellow. They are afraid, I infer, that my disease will not make way with me promptly enough. Between their goading and my own madness I shall doubtless gratify their wishes.

But all this would be nothing if, incredible as it may seem, this subtle poison had not just now begun to show its effects in the Roman curia itself [at Avignon]. What do you think the lawyers and doctors are up to? Justinian and Æsculapius have palled upon them. The sick and the litigious cry in vain for their help, for they are deafened by the thunder of Homer's and Virgil's names, and wander oblivious in the woody valleys of Cirrha, by the purling waters of the Aonian fountain. But it is hardly necessary to speak of these lesser prodigies. Even carpenters, fullers, and plowmen leave the implements of their calling to talk of Apollo and the Muses. I cannot say how far the plague, which lately was confined to a few, has now spread.

223. Petrarch copies a work of Cicero's. (From one of his letters.)

Petrarch's enthusiasm for the classical authors, especially Cicero, whom he admired most ardently, is shown in the following letter.

Your copy of Cicero has been in my possession four years and more. There is a good reason, though, for so long a delay;

namely, the great scarcity of copyists who understand such work. It is a state of affairs that has resulted in an incredible loss to scholarship. Books that by their nature are a little hard to understand are no longer multiplied, and have ceased to be generally intelligible, and so have sunk into utter neglect, and in the end have perished. This age of ours consequently has let fall, bit by bit, some of the richest and sweetest fruits that the tree of knowledge has yielded; has thrown away the results of the vigils and labors of the most illustrious men of genius, — things of more value, I am almost tempted to say, than anything else in the whole world. . . .

But I must return to your Cicero. I could not do without it, and the incompetence of the copyists would not let me possess it. What was left for me but to rely upon my own resources, and press these weary fingers and this worn and ragged pen into the service? The plan that I followed was this. I want you to know it, in case you should ever have to grapple with a similar task. Not a single word did I read except as I wrote. But how is that, I hear some one say; did you write without knowing what it was that you were writing? Ah! but from the very first it was enough for me to know that it was a work of Tullius, and an extremely rare one too. And then as soon as I was fairly started, I found at every step so much sweetness and charm, and felt so strong a desire to advance, that the only difficulty which I experienced in reading and writing at the same time came from the fact that my pen could not cover the ground so rapidly as I wanted it to, whereas my expectation had been rather that it would outstrip my eyes, and that my ardor for writing would be chilled by the slowness of my reading.

So the pen held back the eye, and the eye drove on the pen, and I covered page after page, delighting in my task, and committing many and many a passage to memory as I wrote. For just in proportion as the writing is slower than the reading does the passage make a deep impression and cling to the mind.

Vespasiano, a Florentine bookseller who died in 1498, gives us some very interesting accounts of his distinguished patrons in his *Lives of Illustrious Men.*

224. Founding of the Vatican Library by Nicholas V. (From Vespasiano's *Lives of Illustrious Men.*)

Owing to the jubilee of 1450 a great quantity of money came in by this means to the apostolic see, and with this the pope commenced building in many places, and sent for Greek and Latin books, wherever he was able to find them, without regard to price. He gathered together a large band of writers, the best that he could find, and kept them in constant employment. He also summoned a number of learned men, both for the purpose of composing new works and of translating such existing works as were not already translated, giving them most abundant provision for their needs meanwhile; and when the works were translated and brought to him, he gave them large sums of money, in order that they should do more willingly that which they undertook to do.

He made great provision for the needs of learned men. He gathered together great numbers of books upon every subject, both Greek and Latin, to the number of five thousand volumes. So at his death it was found by inventory that never since the time of Ptolemy had half that number of books of every kind been brought together. All books he caused to be copied, without regard to what it cost him, and there were few places where his Holiness had not copiers at work. When he could not procure a book for himself in any way, he had it copied.

After he had assembled at Rome, as I said above, many learned men at large salaries, he wrote to Florence to Messer Giannozzo Manetti, that he should come to Rome to translate and compose for him. And when Manetti left Florence and came to Rome, the pope, as was his custom, received him with honor, and assigned to him, in addition to his income as secretary, six hundred ducats, urging him to attempt the translation of the books of the Bible and of Aristotle, and to complete the book already commenced by him, *Contra Judæos et gentes;* a wonderful work, if it had been completed, but he carried it only to the tenth book. Moreover he translated

the New Testament, and the Psalter, . . . with five apologetical books in defense of this Psalter, showing that in the Holy Scriptures there is not one syllable that does not contain the greatest of mysteries.

It was Pope Nicholas' intention to found a library in St. Peter's, for the general use of the whole Roman curia, which would have been an admirable thing indeed, if he had been able to carry it out, but death prevented his bringing it to completion. He illumined the Holy Scriptures through innumerable books, which he caused to be translated; and in the same way with the works of the pagans, including certain works upon grammar, of use in learning Latin, — the *Orthography* of Messer Giovanni Tortelle, who was of his Holiness' household and worked upon the library, a worthy book and useful to grammarians; the *Iliad* of Homer; Strabo's *De situ orbis* he caused to be translated by Guerrino, and gave him five hundred florins for each part, — that is to say, Asia, Africa, and Europe; that was in all fifteen hundred florins. Herodotus and Thucydides he had translated by Lorenzo Valla, and rewarded him liberally for his trouble; Zenophon and Diodorus, by Messer Poggio; Polybius, by Nicolo Perotto, whom, when he handed it to him, he gave five hundred brand-new papal ducats in a purse, and said to him that it was not what he deserved, but that in time he would take care to satisfy him.

225. How Cosimo, father of Lorenzo de' Medici, founded a library. (From *Vespasiano*)

When Cosimo had finished the monastery [near Florence] and a good part of the church, he fell to thinking how he should have the place peopled with honest men of letters; and in this way it occurred to him to found a fine library; and one day when I happened to be present in his chamber, he said to me, "In what way would you furnish this library?" I replied that as for buying the books it would be impossible, for they were not to be had. Then he said, "How is it possible then to furnish it?" I told him that it would be necessary to have the books copied. He asked in reply if I would be willing to undertake the task. I answered him, that I was willing. He told me to commence my work and

he would leave everything to me; and as for the money that would be necessary, he would refer the matter to Con Archangel, then prior of the monastery, who would draw bills upon the bank, which should be paid.

The library was commenced at once, for it was his pleasure that it should be done with the utmost possible celerity; and as I did not lack for money, I collected in a short time forty-five writers, and finished two hundred volumes in twenty-two months; in which work we made use of an excellent list, that of the library of Pope Nicholas, which he had given to Cosimo; in the form of a catalogue made out with his own hands . . . and all the other works necessary to a library, of which no one was wanting. And since there were not copies of all these works in Florence, we sent to Milan, to Bologna, and to other places, wherever they might be found. Cosimo lived to see the library wholly completed, and the cataloguing and the arranging of the books; in all of which he took great pleasure, and the work went forward, as was his custom, with great promptness.

III. The Artists of the Renaissance

Benvenuto Cellini and his *Life, written by Himself.*

One of the most instructive and diverting of the sources for the Renaissance period is *The Life of Benvenuto Cellini written by Himself* — in Florence, as he tells us, in the fifty-eighth year of his age (1558). Cellini was the most famous goldsmith of his time, or perhaps of any time; but he worked also in every kind of metal and produced, among other things, one famous piece of sculpture in bronze, — the *Perseus and Medusa*, which still adorns the piazza in Florence, for which it was made, at the order of Duke Cosimo de Medici. Cellini was employed by, and came into close personal relations with, most of the princes of his time in Italy, and also in France, where he lived for some time under

the patronage of Francis I. He came of a good Florentine family, and exhibits in a marked degree most of the characteristic virtues and vices of the age. There is, indeed, hardly a phase of the many-sided life of the Renaissance period which is not illustrated in his autobiography.

Vasari's characterization of Cellini.

Vasari closes his *Life of Cellini* as follows: "Though I might here enlarge on the productions of Benvenuto, who has always showed himself a man of great spirit and vivacity, bold, active, enterprising, and formidable to his enemies, — a man, in short, who knew as well how to speak to princes as to exert himself in his art, — I shall add nothing further, since he has written an account of his life and works, and a treatise on goldsmiths' work, as well as on casting statues and many other subjects, with more art and eloquence than it is possible for me to imitate."

226. Cellini and the art-loving pope Clement VII. (Condensed.)

[Cellini had been engaged to reset some jewels for Pope Clement VII.] Since that was not, however, a work in which I could gain great reputation, the pope was resolved, he said, to employ me in an undertaking of the last importance, in which I should have opportunity of displaying my abilities. "The work I have in mind," he added, "is the button for the pontifical cope, which is made round and in the form of a trencher and as big as a small trencher; in this I would have God the Father represented in half relievo, and in the midst of it I would have the edge of the large diamond set, with many other jewels of the greatest value. Go then and draw a fine design of it." Thereupon he caused all his jewels to be shown me, and I left him, highly pleased with my success.

Serious interest in even small works of art.

[Several of Cellini's rivals, hearing of this undertaking, had a number of other designs made, which were submitted to the pope at the same time as his.] It so fell out that all those who had drawn those designs had laid the fine large

and beautiful diamond in the middle of the breast of God the Father. The pope, who was a person of great genius, having noticed this blunder, would proceed no farther in examining their performances. After he had examined about ten, he threw the rest upon the ground and desired me to give him my model, that he might see whether I had committed the same mistake. Thereupon I came forward and opened a little round box, when instantly there seemed to flash from it a luster which dazzled the pope himself, and he cried out with a loud voice, "Benvenuto, had you been my very self, you could not have designed this with greater propriety." Then calling to Trojano, his gentleman of the bedchamber, he ordered him to fetch five hundred ducats.

Cellini's full appreciation of his own skill.

Whilst they were bringing the money, he examined more minutely the ingenious artifice by which I had placed that fine diamond and God the Father in a proper position. I had laid the diamond exactly in the middle of the work, and over it I represented God the Father sitting in a sort of free, easy attitude, which suited admirably well with the rest of the piece, and did not in the least crowd the diamond; his right hand was lifted up, giving his blessing. Under the diamond I had drawn three little boys, who supported it with their arms raised aloft. Round it was a number of figures of boys placed amongst other glittering jewels. The remainder of God the Father was covered with a cloak which wantoned in the wind, from whence issued several figures of boys, with other striking ornaments, most beautiful to behold.

Toleration of man-slaughter.

[While Cellini was engaged on this work and other orders for the pope, his brother was killed in a street brawl between some soldiers and young gallants, such as occurred almost daily on any provocation, or none.] Meanwhile I exerted my utmost efforts to finish the work in gold which I was employed in by Pope Clement; still thinking day and night of the musketeer that shot my brother. Perceiving that my solicitude and anxious desire of revenge deprived me both of sleep and appetite, which threw me into a lingering disorder, and not caring to have recourse to any treacherous

or dishonorable means, one evening I prepared to put an end to my disquietude.

Just after sunset, as this musketeer stood at his door with his sword in his hand, when he had done supper, I with great address came close up to him with a long dagger and gave him a violent back-handed stroke which I had aimed at his neck; that instant he turned about, and the blow falling directly upon his left shoulder, broke the whole bone of it; upon which he dropped his sword, quite overcome by the pain, and took to his heels. I pursued and in four steps came up with him, when, raising the dagger over his head which he lowered down, I hit exactly upon his collar bone and the middle of the neck; the weapon penetrated so deep into both that though I made a great effort to recover it again, I found it impossible; for at this same instant there issued out of a neighboring house four soldiers, with their swords drawn, so that I was obliged to draw mine also in my own defense.

[He takes refuge with his protector, Duke Alexander of Medici, in whose palace he stays under cover for eight days. At the end of that time the pope sends for him, the messenger saying that the pope] knew all that had happened, that his Holiness was very much my friend, and desired me to go on with my business without giving myself any uneasiness. When I came into the presence of the pontiff, he frowned on me very much, and with angry looks seemed to reprimand me; but, upon viewing my performance, his countenance grew serene and he praised me highly, telling me that I had done a great deal in a short time; then looking attentively at me, he said, "Now that you have recovered your health, Benvenuto, take care of yourself." I understood his meaning, and told him that I should not neglect his advice.

Giorgio Vasari (1512–1574), a painter of some ability himself and an enthusiastic admirer of the great artists of Italy, among whom he considered his friend and contemporary, Michael Angelo, the greatest, wrote a long

series of charming biographies of painters, sculptors, and architects, which forms the chief source for the lives of the Italian artists from Giotto to Titian.

227. Remarkable versatility of Leonardo da Vinci. (From Vasari's *Lives of the Painters.*)

The richest gifts are occasionally seen to be showered, as by celestial influence, upon certain human beings; nay, they sometimes supernaturally and marvelously congregate in a single person, — beauty, grace, and talent being united in such a manner that to whatever the man thus favored may turn himself, his every action is so divine as to leave all other men far behind him. This would seem manifestly to prove that he has been specially endowed by the hand of God himself, and has not obtained his preëminence through human teaching or the powers of man.

This was perceived and acknowledged by all men in the case of Leonardo da Vinci, in whom (to say nothing of his beauty of person, which yet was such that it has never been sufficiently extolled) there was a grace beyond expression, which was manifest without thought or effort in every act and deed, and who had besides so rare a gift of talent and ability that to whatever subject he turned his attention, no matter how difficult, he presently made himself absolute master of it.

In him extraordinary power was combined with remarkable facility, a mind of regal boldness and magnanimous daring. His gifts were such that the celebrity of his name was spread abroad, and he was held in the highest estimation not only in his own time but also, and even to a greater degree, after his death, — nay, he has continued, and will continue, to be held in the highest esteem by all succeeding generations.

Truly remarkable, indeed, and divinely endowed was Leonardo da Vinci. He was the son of Ser Piero da Vinci. He would without doubt have made great progress in learning and knowledge of the sciences had he not been so versatile and changeful. The instability of his character led him to undertake many things which having commenced he afterwards abandoned. In arithmetic, for example, he

made such rapid progress in the short time that he gave his attention to it, that he often confounded the master who was teaching him by the perpetual doubts that he started and by the difficult questions that he proposed.

He also commenced the study of music, and resolved to acquire the art of playing the lute, when, being by nature of an exalted imagination and full of the most graceful vivacity, he sang to the instrument most divinely, improvising at once both the verse and the music.

[Verocchio, an esteemed artist of the period, upon seeing some of the drawings which Leonardo had made, gladly agreed to take him into his shop.] Thither the boy resorted with the utmost readiness, and not only gave his attention to one branch of art but to all those of which design makes a portion. Endowed with such admirable intelligence and being also an excellent geometrician, Leonardo not only worked in sculpture but in architecture; likewise he prepared various designs for ground plans and the construction of entire buildings. He too it was who, while only a youth, first suggested the formation of a canal from Pisa to Florence by means of certain changes to be effected in the river Arno. Leonardo likewise made designs for mills, fulling machines, and other engines which were run by water. But as he had resolved to make painting his profession, he gave the greater part of his time to drawing from nature.

228. Kindly disposition of Raphael. (From Vasari's *Lives of the Painters*.)

Vasari writes thus of Raphael's premature death and of his kindly disposition toward his fellow-artists.

When this noble artist died, well might Painting have departed also, for when he closed his eyes she too was left, as it were, blind. . . . To him of a truth it is that we owe the possession of invention, coloring, and execution, brought alike and together to that perfection for which few could have dared to hope; nor has any man ever aspired to surpass him.

And in addition to the benefits which this great master conferred on art, being as he was its best friend, we have

the further obligation to him of having taught us by his life in what manner we should comport ourselves toward great men, as well as toward those of lesser degree, and even toward the lowest; nay, there was among his many extraordinary gifts one of such value and importance that I can never sufficiently admire it and always think thereof with astonishment.

This was the power accorded to him by heaven, of bringing all who approached his presence into harmony, an effect inconceivably surprising in our calling, and contrary to the nature of our artists. Yet all, I do not say of the inferior grades only, but even those who lay claim to be great personages (and of this humor our art produces immense numbers) became as of one mind, once they began to labor in the society of Raphael, continuing in such unity and concord that all harsh feelings and evil dispositions became subdued and disappeared at the sight of him; every vile and base thought departing from the mind before his influence.

Such harmony prevailed at no other time than his own. And this happened because all were surpassed by him in friendly courtesy as well as in art; all confessed the influence of his sweet and gracious nature, which was so replete with excellence and so perfect in all the charities, that not only was he honored by men but even by the very animals, who would constantly follow his steps and always loved him.

229. Michael Angelo and the popes. His character and ideals. (From Vasari's *Lives of the Painters.*)

Several of Michael Angelo's greatest works were undertaken at the order of Pope Julius II (d. 1512), who had the highest appreciation of his genius. But the independence of the artist and the irascible temper of the pontiff occasioned numerous quarrels between them, which invariably resulted in fresh favors from the pope. After one of these reconciliations, which took place in Bologna, Julius had ordered a bronze statue of himself to be placed over one of the city gates.

Relations of Michael Angelo with Pope Julius II.

The statue was finished in the clay model before Pope Julius left Bologna for Rome, and his Holiness went to see it, but, the right hand being raised in an attitude of much dignity, and the pontiff not knowing what was to be placed in the left, inquired whether he were anathematizing the people or giving them his benediction; Michael Angelo replied that he was admonishing the Bolognese to behave themselves discreetly, and asked his Holiness to decide whether it were not well to put a book in the left hand. "Put a sword into it," replied Pope Julius, "for of letters I know but little." The pontiff left a thousand crowns in the bank of Messer Antonmaria da Lignano for the purpose of completing the figure, and after Michael Angelo had labored at it for sixteen months it was placed over the door of San Petronio.

The Bentivogli destroy the statue of the pope.

The work was eventually destroyed by the Bentivogli,[1] and the bronze was sold to the Duke Alfonzo of Ferrara, who made a piece of artillery, called the Julia, of the fragments; the head only was preserved, and this is now in the Duke's Guardaroba.

The pope's impatience to see the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel completed.

[The pope was very anxious to see the decoration of the Sistine Chapel completed, and constantly inquired when it would be finished.] On one occasion, therefore, Michael Angelo replied, "It will be finished when I shall have done all that I believe is required to satisfy Art." "And we command," rejoined the pontiff, "that you satisfy our wish to have it done quickly," adding that if it were not at once completed, he would have Michael Angelo thrown headlong from the scaffolding. Hearing this, our artist, who feared the fury of the pope, and with good cause, without taking time to add what was wanting, took down the remainder of the scaffolding, to the great satisfaction of the whole city, on All Saints' day, when Pope Julius went into that chapel to sing mass. But Michael Angelo had much desired to

[1] The chief family of Bologna, who practically ruled the town, although it was nominally a republic and lay within the papal dominions.

retouch some portions of the work *a secco*,[1] as had been done by the older masters who had painted the stories on the walls. He would also have gladly added a little ultramarine to the draperies and gilded other parts, to the end that the whole might have a richer and more striking effect.

The pope, too, hearing that these things were still wanting, and finding that all who beheld the chapel praised it highly, would now fain have had the additions made; but as Michael Angelo thought reconstructing the scaffold too long an affair, the pictures remained as they were, although the pope, who often saw Michael Angelo, would sometimes say, "Let the chapel be enriched with bright colors and gold; it looks poor." When Michael Angelo would reply familiarly, "Holy Father, the men of those days did not adorn themselves with gold; those who are painted here less than any, for they were none too rich; besides which they were holy men, and must have despised riches and ornaments."

Michael Angelo required by the pope to carry on the work of St. Peter's.

[In 1546, San Gallo, who was in charge of the building operations at St. Peter's in Rome, having died, Pope Paul III asked Michael Angelo to undertake the office.] The master at first replied that he would not, architecture not being his vocation; but when entreaties were found useless, the pope commanded him to accept the trust, and to his infinite regret he was compelled to obey. He did not approve of San Gallo's plan. He would often publicly declare that San Gallo had left the building without lights, and had heaped too many ranges of columns one above the other on the outside; adding that, with its innumerable projections, pinnacles, and divisions of members, it was more like a work of the Teutons than of the good antique manner, or of the cheerful and beautiful modern style.[2] He furthermore affirmed that fifty years of time, with more than three

[1] That is, after the damp plaster upon which the paint had been originally laid *al fresco* had dried.

[2] That is, that it resembled the Gothic rather than the Classical or Renaissance style.

hundred thousand crowns in the cost, might very well be spared, while the work might be completed with increased majesty, grandeur, and lightness, to say nothing of better design, greater beauty, and superior convenience.

Prolonged building of St. Peter's a source of corruption.

He made a model also, to prove the truth of his words, and this was of the form wherein we now see the work to have been carried on; it cost twenty-five crowns and was finished in a fortnight, that of San Gallo having exceeded four thousand and having occupied several years in making. From this and other circumstances, it was indeed easy to see that the church had become an object of traffic and a means of gain rather than a building to be completed, being considered by those who undertook the work as a kind of bargain to be turned to the best account.

Such a state of things could not fail to displease so upright a man as Michael Angelo, and as the pope had made him superintendent against his will, he determined to be rid of them all. He therefore one day told them openly that he knew well that they had done and were doing all they could by means of their friends to prevent him from entering on this office, but that if he were to undertake the charge he would not suffer one of them to remain about the building.

Michael Angelo's dissatisfaction with his work.

Michael Angelo worked for his amusement almost every day at a group of four figures, but he broke up the block at last, either because it was found to have numerous veins, was excessively hard, and often caused the chisel to strike fire, or because the judgment of the artist was so severe that he could never content himself with anything that he ever did. There is proof of this in the fact that few of his works undertaken in his manhood were ever entirely completed, those entirely finished being the productions of his youth. . . . Michael Angelo himself would often remark that if he were really permitted to satisfy himself in the works to be produced, he should give little or nothing to public view.

And the reason for this is obvious. He had advanced to such an extent of knowledge in art that the very slightest error could not exist in any figure without his immediate

discovery thereof; but having found such after the work had been given to view, he would never attempt to correct it, and would commence some other production, believing that a like failure would not happen again. This then was, as he often declared, the reason why the number of pictures and statues finished by his hand was so small. . . .

His powers of imagination were such that he was frequently compelled to abandon his purpose because he could not express by the hand those grand and sublime ideas which he had conceived in his mind, — nay, he has spoiled and destroyed many works for this cause. I know, for example, that a short time before his death he burned a large number of his designs, sketches, and cartoons, that none might see the labors he had gone through and the trials to which he had subjected his spirit in his resolve not to fall short of perfection. I have myself secured some drawings by his hand which were found in Florence and which are now in my book of designs; and these, although they give evidence of his great genius, yet prove also that the hammer of Vulcan was necessary to bring Minerva from the head of Jupiter.

Vignero, another friend of Michael Angelo's, thus describes the impetuous way in which he worked, even in his later years.

230. Michael Angelo's fiery impetuosity.

I may add that I have seen Michael Angelo, although then sixty years old and not in robust health, strike more chips from the hardest marble in a quarter of an hour than would be carried off by three young stonecutters in three or four times as long, — a thing incredible to him who has not seen it. He would approach the marble with such impetuosity, not to say fury, that I have often thought the whole work must be dashed to pieces. At one blow he would strike off pieces of three or four inches; yet with such exactitude was each stroke given that a mere atom more would sometimes have spoiled the whole work.

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INDEX

This Index should be supplemented by the analytical Table of Contents at the opening of this volume.

ABELARD, 446 *sqq.*
Acta Sanctorum, 113.
Adamnus, *Life of Columba*, 112.
Adrianople, battle of, 39.
Aids, feudal, 235 *sq.*
Aistulf, king of the Lombards, 122 *sqq.*
Alaric, 41 *sqq.*
Alberic, ruler of Rome, 252.
Albertus Magnus, 370, 457.
Albigenses, 26, 381 *sqq.*
Alcuin, 128.
Alfred the Great, 222 *sqq.*
Allegory, 78 *sq.*
Allod, 176.
Ammianus Marcellinus, 35 *sqq.*, 57.
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 229 *sqq.*, 244, 431.
Anglo-Saxon language, 431 *sq.*
Anna Comnena, 320 *sq.*
Annals, origin of, 147 *sq.*
Annals, Royal, 148.
Annals of Fulda, 155 *sqq.*, 169.
Annals of Liege, 299 *sqq.*
Annals of St. Bertin, 157 *sqq.*, 169.
Annals of St. Vaast, 163 *sqq.*, 169.
Annals of Xanten, 158 *sqq.*, 169.
Antapodosis of Liutprand, 255 *sqq.*
Ante-Nicene Fathers, 85.
Antioch, siege of, 321 *sqq.*
Apollinaris Sidonius, 58 *sqq.*, 150 *sq.*
Aquinas, 370, 457 *sqq.*
Aristotle, 355 *sqq.*
Arnold of Lübeck, 311.
Arrian, 15.
Artists of the Renaissance, 531 *sqq.*
Asser, 244.
Astronomy, mediæval, 441 *sq.*
Atavulf, 43.
Attila, 46 *sqq.*; interview of, with Leo the Great, 49 *sqq.*
Augustine, *City of God*, 58.
Augustine of Canterbury, 97 *sqq.*
Averroës, 456.
Avignon, popes at, 502 *sqq.*

BABYLON, 327.
Bacon, Roger, 460 *sqq.*, 465.
Baptism, sacrament of, 349 *sqq.*
Barbarian invasions, sources for, 57 *sqq.*
Barbarians compared with the Romans, 28 *sqq.*
Bartholomew Anglicus, 443 *sq.*
Bede, 61, 97 *sqq.*, 112, 441, note; description of, of purgatory, hell, and heaven, 93 *sqq.*
Benedict of St. Andrea, *Chronicle of*, 250 *sqq.*
Beneficium, 173 *sqq.*
Benefit of clergy, 358 *sqq.*
Berengar II of Italy, 256 *sqq.*
Bernard of Gui, 381 *sqq.*
Bernard, St., letter of, 329 *sqq.*; miracles of, 334 *sq.*
Bernheim, *Lehrbuch*, 12.
Bestiaries, 442 *sq.*
Bishop of Rome, *see* Papacy.
Black Prince, 467 *sqq.*
Bollandists, 113.
Bonaventura, 397.
Boniface, St., 105 *sqq.*, 108, 110; commission of, 105; appointment of, as bishop, 105; oath of, 106; crowns Pippin, 121.
Boniface VII, 346 *sqq.*
Boniface VIII, 488 *sqq.*
Books, copying of, 527 *sq.*

Bouquet, 219.
Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, 259 *sq.*
Burghers, *see* Towns.
Burnt Njal, Story of, 152 *sqq.*

Cæsar of Heisterbach, 355, 365 *sq.*, 370.
Canon law, 369.
Canons, definition of, 68.
Canossa, 282 *sq.*
Canterbury, 99.
Capitularies, extracts from, 135 *sqq.*, 148.
Cardinals, 375 *sq.*
Carmina Burana, 463.
Cartulaires, 193.
Cassiodorus, 56, 59.
Cathari, 384, note.
Catholic Church, early conception of, 19 *sqq.*
Cellini, 531 *sqq.*
Charlemagne, 126 *sqq.*
Charles of Lorraine, 194 *sq.*
Charles the Bald, 156 *sqq.*
Charles the Bold, 477 *sqq.*
Charles the Fat, 167 *sq.*
Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis, 465.
Childeric III, 120.
Christianity and paganism, 14 *sqq.*
Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain, 243.
Chronicon Urspergense, 311.
Church, 19 *sqq.*; power of, 346 *sqq.*; revenues of, 361 *sqq.*; abuses in, 508 *sqq.*
Church and State, 21 *sqq.*, 284 *sqq.*, 346 *sqq.*, 492 *sqq.*
Church and the Roman emperors, 21 *sqq.*
Church histories, 82, note.
Cities, German, 296 *sqq.*; Italian, 303 *sqq.*, 516 *sqq.*
Civil power, relations of, to the papacy, 21 *sqq.*, 284 *sqq.*
Clement of Rome, 63, note, 64.
Clement VII, antipope, 507.
Clergy, 24, 25, 358 *sqq.*, 370 *sqq.*, 488 *sqq.*, 492 *sqq.*, 497 *sqq.*
Clericis Laicos, bull, 488 *sqq.*
Clermont, Council of, 312 *sqq.*
Clovis, 51 *sqq.*; conversion of, 52 *sqq.*
Coal, 301.
Codex Carolinus, 149.
Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire, 220.
Collection des documents inédits, 220.
Cologne, Annals of, 196 *sqq.*
Columba, St., 104.
Columban, St., life of, 111.
Commendation, 175 *sq.*
Commines, 477 *sqq.*, 487.
Condottiere, 516 *sq.*
Confession, sacrament of, 353, 356 *sq.*, 499.
Confirmation, sacrament of, 350 *sq.*
Conrad I, 246.
Constance, Council of, 511 *sqq.*
Constantine, 22, note, 23.
Convito of Dante, 522 *sqq.*, 542.
Copying of books, 527 *sq.*
Corpus Juris Canonici, 369.
Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 85.
Cosimo de' Medici, library of, 530 *sq.*
Council of Constance, 511 *sq.*
Councils, 488 *sqq.*
Crécy, battle of, 466 *sqq.*
Crusaders, 317 *sqq.*, 331, 337 *sqq.*
Crusades, 214 *sqq.*, 312 *sqq.*
Culture of the Middle Ages, 431 *sqq.*
Customs, 406 *sqq.*
Cyprian, 19 *sqq.*; on appeals to the bishop of Rome, 66.

Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde*, 10, note.
Dante, 520 *sqq.*
Decretals, papal, 68 and note, 265, 369.
Defensor Pacis, 491 *sqq.*
Denifle, 465, 473 *sqq.*, 487.
Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 370.
Despots, Italian, 516 *sqq.*
Devil and his wicked angels, 89 *sqq.*
Dialogues of Gregory the Great, 76 *sq.*
Dictatus of Gregory VII, 274 *sq.*
Dietrich Vrie, 510.

Dill on the sack of Rome, 45 *sq.*
Divine Comedy, the, 520 *sqq.*
Dominic, St., 398.
Doomsday Book, 229 *sq.*
Du Cange, *Glossarium*, 12, 192.

Easter, controversy concerning, in England, 103 *sqq.*
Eastern empire, 320 *sq.*, 340 *sqq.*
Ebert, *Geschichte der Literatur*, 34.
Einhard, *Annals*, 122, 131 *sqq.*, 148; *Life of Charlemagne*, 120, 126 *sqq.*, 148.
Ekkehard of Aurach, *Chronicle* of, 266 *sqq.*, 316 *sqq.*
Electoral college, German, 307.
England in the Middle Ages, 222 *sqq.*
England, conversion of, 97 *sq.*
English language, development of, 431 *sqq.*
Epictetus, 15.
Eucharist, 351 *sq.*, 355 *sq.*
Eudes Rigaud, 370, 377 *sqq.*
Eugenius III, 337 *sq.*
Extreme unction, 353.

Farmer Helmbrecht, 418 *sqq.*
Fealty, oath of, 179 *sqq.*
Feudalism, 171 *sqq.*
Fiefs, granting of, 176 *sqq.*
Flodoard, 220.
Fodrum, 305.
Fontenay, battle of, 156 *sq.*
France, devastation of, during the Hundred Years' War, 472 *sqq.*
France, development of, 194 *sqq.*
Francis of Assisi, St., 387 *sqq.*; sermon of, to the birds, 391 *sq.*; will of, 392 *sqq.*; lives of, 397.
Franks, 51 *sqq.*
Fredegarius, 61.
Frederick Barbarossa, 299 *sq.*; letter of, 302 *sq.*; in Italy, 303 *sqq.*
Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, laws of, against heresy, 384 *sqq.*
French language, development of, 432.
Frequens, decree, 512 *sq.*
Friars, 371 *sqq.*
Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte*, 33, note.
Froissart, 466 *sqq.*, 487, 504 *sqq.*
Fulbert of Chartres, 184 *sq.*
Fulcher of Chartres, 314, note.
Fulda, Annals of, 155 *sqq.*, 169.
Fulda, founding of, 107 *sqq.*
Fustel de Coulanges, 57.

Gaillard, Castle, 211.
Galerius, edict of, 21 *sq.*
Gelasius, letter of, 72 *sq.*
Geoffrey of Clairvaux, 334 *sq.*
Gerbert (Sylvester II), 220, 375.
German invasions, 35 *sqq.*
German language, development of, 437 *sq.*
Germany in the tenth and eleventh centuries, 245 *sqq.*
Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit, 263.
Gildas, 244.
Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique*, 12 *sq.*
Godfrey of Bouillon, letter of, 325 *sqq.*
Goths, 35 *sqq.*; conversion of, 39 *sq.*; in Italy, 42 *sqq.*
Grandes Chroniques de la France, 221.
Granson, battle of, 478 *sqq.*
Gratian, *Decretum* of, 369.
Great Charter, 231 *sqq.*
Gregory of Tours, 51 *sqq.* 60 *sqq.*
Gregory the Great, 73 *sqq.*; *Dialogues* of, 92; missionaries of, in England, 97 *sqq.*; instructions of, to English missionaries, 100 *sq.*
Gregory VII, 266 *sqq.*; letter of, to Henry IV, 276 *sqq.*; letter of, to Hermann of Metz, 284 *sqq.*
Gröber, *Grundriss*, 464.
Gross, Charles, *Sources of English History*, 11.
Guilds, 409 *sqq.*
Guizot, 220.

Hanseatic League, 412 *sqq.*
Hardt, Von der, 515.
Harnack, 84, 111.
Harold, 224 *sqq.*
Hastings, battle of, 224 *sqq.*
Hauck, 112.

Heaven, Bede's description of, 83 *sqq.*; description of, in Koran, 118 *sq.*
Hefele, 84.
Hell, Bede's description of, 93 *sqq.*; in Koran, 118 *sq.*
Henry I of England, 205.
Henry I of Germany, 246 *sq.*
Henry IV, 266 *sqq.*; letter of, to Gregory VII, 279 *sqq.*; excommunication of, 281 *sq.*; penance of, at Canossa, 282 *sq.*
Henry V of Germany, 296 *sq.*
Heresy, Cyprian on, 21; attitude of Roman government toward, 26; 364 *sqq.*, 371 *sqq.*; laws against, 384 *sqq.*
Heriot, 402 *sq.*
Hermann of Reichenau, 264.
Hildebrand, *see* Gregory VII.
Hincmar of Rheims, 170.
Histoire littéraire de la France, 220.
Historical atlases, 13.
Historical knowledge in the Middle Ages, 444 *sqq.*
Hodgkin, 56.
Homage, 179 *sqq.*
Honorius, Emperor, 42 *sq.*
Hrosvita, 264.
Hugh Capet, 194 *sqq.*
Humanism, 520 *sqq.*
Hundred Years' War, 466 *sqq.*
Hungarians, 245 *sqq.*, 251.
Huns, 31, 35 *sqq.*, 46 *sqq.*

IMMUNITY, 171 *sqq.*
Indelible characters, 349.
Indulgences 339 *sq.*, 477.
Innocent III, 338 *sqq.*
Inquisition, 397.
Investiture, 272 *sqq.*; decrees forbidding lay, 275 *sq.*; settlement of question of, 290 *sqq.*
Irenæus, 63 *sq.*
Irish missionaries in England, 103 *sqq.*
Italian cities, 303 *sqq.*
Italian language, 522 *sqq.*

JACQUES DE VITRY, 345, 356 *sq.*, 370.
Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum*, 85.
Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte, 147, 261 *sq.*, 294, 310.
James, William, on monasticism, 88 *sq.*
Jerome, on barbarian invasions, 44 *sq.*; on monastic life, 86 *sq.*; on the equality of the bishops, 66.
Jerusalem, capture of, 327 *sqq.*
Jews, 333, 339, 426 *sqq.*
John of England, 209 *sqq.*, 231 *sqq.*
John of France, 470 *sqq.*
John XII, 253 *sq.*
Joinville, 212 *sqq.*
Jordanes, 59.

KENT, missionaries' arrival in, 97 *sqq.*
Kirchenlexikon, 84.
Koran, the, 114 *sq.*; extracts from, 116 *sqq.*, 124.

LAMBERT of Hersfeld, 264.
Langlois, *Manuel de bibliographie*, 10, note.
Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, 12.
Laws of the barbarians, 57.
Layettes du Trésor des Chartres, 193.
Lea, H. C., 370, 396.
Lecky, *European Morals*, 17.
Leonardo da Vinci, 535 *sqq.*
Leo the Great, 49 *sqq.*, 69 *sqq.*
Leo III, 131 *sq.*
Libelli de lite, 295.
Liber pontificalis, 85.
Liege, Annals of, 299 *sqq.*
Little Flowers of St. Francis, 396.
Liutprand, 255 *sqq.*, 264, 340 *sqq.*
Lives of the Saints, 113.
Lollards, 500 *sqq.*
Lombard towns, 303 *sqq.*
Lombards besiege Rome, 122 *sqq.*
Lothaire, 155 *sqq.*
Louis the Child, 246.
Louis the Fat, 198 *sqq.*
Louis the German, 156 *sqq.*
Louis the Pious, 155 *sqq.*
Louis, St., 212 *sqq.*
Louis XI of France, 481 *sqq.*
Luchaire, *Manuel* of, 192.
Luke of Tuy, 365 *sqq.*

McCabe, *Augustine*, 56; *Abelard*, 453 *sq.*
Machiavelli, *Prince* of, 516 *sqq.*
Magna Charta, 231 *sqq.*
Magnetic needle, 440.
Malmesbury, William of, 224 *sqq.*
Manichæans, 26 and note, 27.
Manor, 399 *sqq.*
Manor house, 404 *sq.*
Mansus, 135, note.
Mapes, Walter, 371 *sqq.*
Marcellinus, Ammianus, 35 *sq.*, 57.
Marcus Aurelius, 17, 22.
Marozia, 251 *sq.*
Marsiglio of Padua, 491 *sqq.*
Mass, 351 *sq.*, 355 *sq.*
Masses for the dead, 77, note.
Matrimony, sacrament of, 354.
Matthew of Paris, 244.
Matthew of Westminster, 24.
Mayors of the palace, 120.
Merovingian kings, 120 *sq.*
Michael Angelo, 537 *sqq.*
Migne, *Patrologia*, 84 *sq.*
Milan, 305 *sq.*; edict of, 22, note.
Military service, 135 *sqq.*, 185 *sqq.*
Milman on Gregory the Great, 73 *sq.*
Minnesingers, 437 *sq.*
Mirror of Perfection, 396 *sq.*
Missi, 139 *sqq.*
Mithras, 18.
Model Parliament, 238 *sqq.*
Mohammed, 114 *sqq.*; Lane-Poole on, 115 *sq.*
Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France*, 11.
Monasteries, support of the, 360 *sqq.*
Monasticism, 86 *sqq.*
Monk of St. Gall, 149, 151 *sq.*
Monks, 373 *sq.*, 377.
Montalembert, 111.
Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 8 *sq.*, 262 *sq.*
Moralia of Gregory the Great, 77 *sqq.*

Natural science, mediæval, 438 *sqq.*
Neckam, 439 *sq.*
Neighborhood war, 187 *sqq.*, 314.
Nicæa, Council of, 66 *sq.*
Nicene creed, 23.
Nicholas of Clemanges, 508 *sqq.*
Nicholas V, library of, 529 *sq.*
Nithard, 169.
Norman Conquest, 224 *sqq.*
Normandy conquered by Philip Augustus, 211.
Normans, 228 *sq.*
Norse *sagas*, 152 *sqq.*
Northmen, 150 *sqq.*
Northumbria, conversion of, 101 *sqq.*
Nuns, 379.

Octavian (John XII), 253 *sq.*
Octavo edition of the *Monumenta*, 263.
Odo, count of Paris, 166 *sqq.*
Ordericus Vitalis, 221.
Ordination, sacrament of, 353 *sq.*
Orosius, 58.
Ortlieb, 363 *sqq.*
Otto of Freising, 302 *sqq.*, 311.
Otto the Great, 248 *sqq.*, 253 *sq.*
Otto II, privilege of, granted to towns, 412.
Otto IV of Germany, 307 *sqq.*

Pagan gods regarded as demons, 90 *sqq.*
Paganism and Christianity, 14 *sqq.*
Papacy, 62 *sqq.*, 66 *sq.*, 250 *sqq.*, 284 *sqq.*, 372, 488 *sqq.*, 492 *sqq.*
Paris, siege of, by Northmen, 163 *sqq.*
Parliament, English, 238 *sqq.*
Paschal II, 272 *sqq.*, 290 *sqq.*
Pastoral Charge of Gregory the Great, 80 *sqq.*, 222 *sqq.*
Paulus Diaconus, 61.
Peasants, 399 *sqq.*, 418 *sqq.*
Penance, sacrament of, 352 *sq.*
Peter at Rome, 62 *sqq.*, 495 *sqq.*
Peter Lombard, 370.
Peter the Hermit, 333.
Petrarch, 502 *sqq.*, 524 *sqq.*
Philip Augustus, 206 *sqq.*
Philip of Germany, 307 *sqq.*
Philip the Fair, 488 *sqq.*
Philobiblon, 358.
Piers Plowman, Vision of, 475 *sqq.*

Pilgrims, 335 *sq.*
Pilichdorfer, 383 *sqq.*
Pippin, 120 *sqq.*
Popes, *see* Papacy.
Post-Nicene Fathers, 85.
Potthast, *Wegweiser* of, 10; *Regesta pontificum*, 311.
Precaria, 174 *sq.*
Priscus Panites, visit to Attila, 30 *sqq.*, 46 *sqq.*
Privileges of crusaders, 337 *sqq.*
Procopius, 60.
Prosper, 49.
Provençal, 434 *sqq.*
Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, 265.
Purgatory, Bede's description of, 83 *sqq.*
Pythagoreans, 18.

RAOUL GLABER, 196 *sqq.*, 220.
Raphael, 536 *sq.*
Rashdall, 458, 462.
Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie, 84.
Recueil des historiens des croisades, 345.
Recueil des historiens des Gaules, 219.
Regino, continuation of, 245 *sqq.*
Regino of Prüm, 169.
Reiner, 300 *sqq.*
Renaissance, 531 *sqq.*, 566 *sq.*
Revelation of Golias, 371 *sqq.*
Richard of Bury, 358 *sqq.*
Richer, 194 *sqq.*, 220.
Richter, *Annalen*, 262.
Rigord, 206 *sqq.*, 221, 445 *sq.*
Robert, king of France, 196 *sqq.*
Robert of Sorbonne, 216 *sq.*
Robert the Monk, 312 *sqq.*, 345.
Roger Bacon, 460 *sqq.*
Roger of Hoveden, 244.
Roger of Wendover, 231 *sqq.*
Rolls Series, 243.
Roman Church, *see* Papacy.
Roman Empire, break-up of, 35 *sqq.*
Roman government and the Church, 21 *sqq.*
Romans compared with the barbarians, 28 *sqq.*
Rome, sack of, by Alaric, 43 *sqq.*
Rome, siege of, by the Lombards, 122 *sqq.*
Rouen, surrender of, 212.
Ruotger, 259 *sq.*
Rutilius Namatianus, 46.

SABATIER, 396 *sq.*
Sacraments, 348 *sqq.*, 383 *sqq.*
Sacrosancta, decree, 511 *sq.*
Sagas, 152 *sqq.*
St. Albans, historians of, 244.
St. Bertin, Annals of, 157 *sq.*, 169.
St. Denis, historians of, 221.
St. Vaast, Annals of, 163 *sqq.*, 169.
Saints, Lives of, 59.
Salvian, 28 *sqq.*, 58.
Sardika, Council of, 67.
Saxons, 129 *sq.*, 150 *sqq.*
Schism, Great, origin of, 506 *sqq.*
Scholasticism, 455 *sqq.*
Schools established by Charlemagne, 144 *sqq.*
Science, mediæval, 460 *sqq.*
Seneca, 14.
Serfs, 399 *sqq.*, 405 *sq.*
Severinus, 59.
Sforza, 517.
Sidonius Apollinaris, 58 *sq.*
Siricius, decretal of, 68.
Société de l'histoire de France, publications of, 220.
Soissons, vase of, 51 *sq.*
Sources, historical, 1 *sqq.*
Spurriers, articles of, 409 *sqq.*
Stephen of Blois, 321 *sqq.*
Stephen of Bourbon, 355 *sq.*, 370.
Stephen III, Pope, letter of, to Pippin, 122.
Stoics, 16.
Strasburg oath, 432 *sq.*
Stubbs, on feudalism, 187.
Students, privileges granted to, 452 *sq.*
Sturmi, 107 *sqq.*
Suger, 198 *sqq.*, 221, 272 *sqq.*
Swiss, 478 *sqq.*
Sylvester II, 375 and note.

TACITUS, *Germania*, 28, note.
Tertullian, 64 *sq.*

Theodoricus de Nyem, 515.
Theodosian Code, 23 *sqq.*
Theodosius the Great, 41.
Thietmar, 264.
Thomas of Celano, 387 *sqq.*, 396 *sq.*
Thor, oak of, 106.
Three Companions, The, 396 *sq.*
Towns, German, 296 *sqq.*; mediæval, 406 *sqq.*
Traill, 242.
Trajan, 22.
Transubstantiation, 352, 355 *sq.*, 499 *sq.*
Trojans, Franks descended from, 445 *sq.*
Troubadours, 434 *sqq.*
Truce of God, 187 *sqq.*

Udalrich, 336.
Unam Sanctam, bull, 346 *sqq.*
Universities, 446 *sqq.*, 448, 453 *sq.*
Urban II, address of, at Clermont, 312 *sqq.*
Urban VI, 506.

Valens, 38 *sq.*, 40.
Valentinian II, edict of, 72.
Vasari, 532, 534 *sqq.*
Vassalage, 179 *sqq.*, 184 *sq.*
Vatican archives, 311.
Vatican Library, 529 *sq.*
Verden, massacre of, 137.
Vespasiano, 529 *sqq.*
Villari, 56.
Virgin, the holy, 357 *sq.*
Vision of Piers Plowman, 475 *sqq.*

Waldensians, 380 *sq.*
Walsingham, 487.
Walther von der Vogelweide, 375 *sq.*, 437 *sq.*
Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 11.
Watterich, 265.
Welf receives duchy of Bavaria, 269.
Wernher the Gardener, 418 *sqq.*
West Goths in Italy, 41 *sq.*
White-tawyers, rules of, 411 *sqq.*
Widukind, rebellion of, 129.
Widukind of Corvei, chronicler, 248 *sqq.*, 264.
Wilfrid, 104.
William of Malmesbury, 224 *sqq.*, 244.
William of Tyre, 345.
William the Conqueror, 224 *sqq.*, 229 *sqq.*
Willibald, *Life of Boniface*, 106 *sq.*
Wolfram von Eschenbach, 415 *sqq.*
Worms, Concordat of, 292 *sq.*
Wycliffe, 497 *sqq.*

Xanten, Annals of, 69, 158 *sqq.*

Yea and Nay, Abelard's, 449 *sqq.*
Year 1000, legend of, 3.

ZACHARIUS, Pope, decrees that Pippin be crowned king, 120.
Zoölogy, mediæval, 442.
Zosimus, 42, note.
Zwifalt, monastery of, 363 *sq.*

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